

# DE BOW'S REVIEW!

## INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES.

Etc.



EDITED BY J. D. B. DE BOW.

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Feb. 17.

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Subscribers will please remit to him at that point, if they are not sooner called upon by an authorized person.

He respectfully urges prompt remittances, which will be noted on the cover, and confidently expects a large increase of his subscription list during the present winter. The opening of the XXVIII volume, presents a favorable opportunity to new subscribers. Do not wait to be called upon.

NEW-ORLEANS, Nov. 1859.

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New-Orleans, Nov. 1839.

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## ART. I.—AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE OLD AND THE NEW WORLD.

### THE PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN, AND THE RETROGRADING CONDITION OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE :—THE CAUSES AND REMEDIES.

[The following invaluable paper was prepared for our pages, and is worthy of the attention of agriculturists in every section of the Union. It is from the pen of Charles L. Fleischmann, graduate of the Royal agricultural school of Schleissheim, and formerly, for many years, connected with the United States Patent office. Our Southern readers will remember the excellent report for the Patent office, which was prepared, in 1847, by Mr. Fleischmann, on the culture of sugar. The subject of the present essay has engaged his attention for several years, during which he visited many portions of Europe.—EDITOR.]

THE rapid developments of internal improvements in England and the United States, and the stimulating influence which it has produced upon agriculture, industry, and commerce, have roused the enterprising spirit of the whole world.

On the continent of Europe, the introduction of railroads has already imparted greater activity to industrial and commercial undertakings. Russia is busy in extending railroads from Europe into her Asiatic possessions, and aims at the establishment of a regular commerce between two hundred millions of Europeans and four hundred millions of Celestials.

Egypt is on the eve of accomplishing the dream of its ancient kings, and the day is near, when the famous canal will

be begun, and, by the aid of the present knowledge in engineering and, mechanical means, brought to a speedy completion.

The ambassador, Feruk-Khan, carried lately with him, from France, European engineers and material for the introduction of railroads in the Persian empire.

The French soldiers prepared the ground from the capital of Algiers to the borders of the Sahara, ready to receive the necessary superstructure.

In India the whistle of the steam-horse is heard, and late accounts from Japan state that the intelligent sovereign of that curious country, had introduced an electric telegraph, and that he intends to build through his empire an iron road.

Australia is up and doing, and even South America follows the example set by her northern brethren at the Isthmus of Panama.

When these various nations will have finally completed their railroads, canals, and telegraphs; when they build proper steam fleets to carry their staple articles to the respective markets, who can calculate the immense extension which commerce will assume, and what will be the result in regard to the price of certain staple articles? The introduction of railroads, as far as it goes, and steam navigation, has already a marked effect upon the price of breadstuffs in Europe and America, and it will undergo still greater changes, when other countries of vast agricultural resources shall have completed their systems of internal improvements.

The country likely to produce the greatest influence upon the price of grain, is Russia. Until now the exports of Russia were limited mostly to the agricultural regions along her seashore, but when the leading arteries of her railroad system strike at the famous grain region, Europe will then be inundated with cheap breadstuffs, and it remains to be seen if the United States can compete with her at the great trans-Atlantic markets. Russia and the United States are equally well favored by nature as to vast extent of good and productive lands.

The fertile district of Russia, is situated in the centre of the empire, running parallel with the shores of the North and Black seas, through many degrees of longitude from west to east, extending far back into the uninhabitable regions of Asia, forming, comparatively, a narrow strip of land; but that district being not well watered by navigable streams, the

main transport of the products can only be advantageously effected by railroads. The distances, however, over which the grain has to travel, before reaching the final depot of export, are very great, and consequently the expense of transport very considerable, especially as that fertile region is destitute of timber, coal, and iron, thus making the construction of railroads very expensive.

The country north of the grain region, is a continuation of forests and marshes, the former diminishing in productiveness, and the latter increasing in extent, as they approach the North sea. The country south of the fertile district consists of enormous plains, destitute of trees and water, over which the fierce winds from the north blow with terrible violence, carrying their chilling influence to the very shores of the Euxine sea, lowering the temperature of Odessa to that of St. Petersburg, limiting thus the number of agricultural productions to a small number of varieties, as for instance, wheat, rye, barley, and oats. Indian corn succeeds only in the valleys of the south, protected from the icy blasts of the plains. These plains suffer very often alarmingly from droughts and grasshoppers, and the inhabitants of the steppes are obliged to keep continually one year's supply of corn and fodder on hand, for fear of an entire failure of crops, which occurs as often as once in four years.

The fertile lands of the United States are in that and many other respects, much better situated; they spread from the Atlantic coast through the boundless west with few interruptions, to the very shores of the Pacific, watered by powerful streams having their sources at the limits of the Union, emptying their waters into the great high roads of commerce of the various oceans which encircle the Republic. Possessed of a climate favoring the culture of the tropical plants, as well as those of northern climes; a country well provided with timber, coal, and minerals, thus facilitating the establishment of railroads, which have already reached an extension surpassing that of all the railroads of Europe together. Canals connect rivers and lakes, and the whole system of internal improvement tends to facilitate the transportation of agricultural products at an exceedingly low rate.

Russia has the advantage of greater proximity to the leading European markets, which she can easily reach by land or sea.

Her commercial navy is however not very large, consisting

of 1,416 merchant vessels, of 172,605 tons burden. Most of her trade is carried on in foreign bottoms.

The United States possesses a commercial navy which exceeds that of any other country; amounting to 6,072,235 tons, represented by 38,000 vessels.

She will have the preference in trade, as she is able to take more or less goods in exchange for her staple articles, whereas Russia requires gold or silver, having little need of the luxuries of life for a people which is scarcely half civilized, dressed in sheepskins and coarse woollen stuffs, living exclusively on the product of the land. Thus the United States will always secure a return freight, and diminish her expenses further by the transportation of emigrants.

The advantages stand so far in favor of the United States; but when we come to the comparison of the price of labor, Russia has a decided advantage over her. The population of Russia amounts to over sixty-two millions, the greatest number of which are employed in agriculture, being mostly serfs, who are obliged to till the soil of the nobles for a scanty allowance of the necessaries of life. The mode of agriculture generally practised in Russia is very primitive; a few miserable implements serve to cultivate the rich mould which produces, nevertheless, fine and sure crops, without even allowing the land a cart-load of manure, or any other restorative, except a number of years of fallow. The numerous flocks of sheep yield an abundance of wool, and the large herds of horned cattle, hides and tallow, from which the nobles derive large revenues. How the emancipation of the serfs will ultimately influence the present system of agriculture in Russia, is difficult to foretell. The questions arise, can the emancipated serfs produce more and cheaper? or, will their labor, when withdrawn from the *extensive* system, and applied to their own property in a more *intensive* form, not diminish the production of grain?

These are vital questions for Russia, which will, however, be regulated in course of time. The emancipated serf, from the very fact that he becomes a freeman, will need more of the comforts of life; he will endeavor to accumulate and get rich, and will be then obliged to make greater exertions to improve his land, and to increase his productions. He will ultimately produce more, and, having less wants than the agriculturists of other countries, he can produce also cheaper.

The United States have thus to compete against a great

amount of cheap labor. Many believe that this disadvantage is balanced by the more active and enterprising character of the Americans, who are endowed with a higher intelligence, and provided with a number of good implements, labor-saving machines, and facilities for transportation.

There is no doubt that the introduction of labor-saving machines has greatly assisted in extending cultivation. We have succeeded in cutting and thrashing grain by machinery, and are able now to secure large crops, which had formerly to be left partly on the ground and to go to ruin. The improved American plow is an excellent implement, scarcely surpassed by any plow in the world; but the advantages of an improved plow or some other labor-saving machine are not so very great, as to influence materially the yield of grain per acre, or to reduce the price of grain to such an extent as to enable the farmer to compete with grain raised by means of cheap labor, but imperfect implements.

We have seen, in the northern provinces of Germany, fine wheat crops which could not be surpassed by any country, yet the lands were prepared by the primitive shovel plow, a square piece of iron, attached to a handle and beam, without coulter or mould board.

In countries where land is abundant and cheap, there the *quality* of farm labor in general is less important than the *quantity*. *Intensive* farming would never pay there; the farmer must avoid all costly operations; he must farm *extensive*, and raise with the smallest amount of manual labor large quantities of agricultural products, and at the lowest rate.

Russia pursues that system now, and with her large agricultural population, and enormous herds of working cattle, she is able to prepare vast extents of land for grain crops. In some of her agricultural districts, we can see fifty and a hundred plows at work in one field, each plow drawn by four oxen and attended by two men. Such a legion of men and working cattle can accomplish a great deal. Although their work is very inferior, and their implements exceedingly primitive, yet they produce large quantities of grain, which waits only for the opening of the railroad to be carried to the various markets in Europe. The American farmer, seeing before him millions and millions of acres of fertile land, feels the want of such laboring forces, and hopes to substitute the steam for working cattle, and to plow the vast plains in the Mississippi valley, and overflow the world with grain.

The application of steam to plowing is not a recent idea. When man saw it propel floating palaces, against the most rapid streams, and draw hundreds of tons and hundreds of passengers with lightning speed over the rails—when he saw it turn and whirl all sorts of machinery with success—the natural inference was, why should not steam be employed also to plow our land? England, always foremost in improvement in agriculture, undertook various experiments, and also hitched it to plows and cultivators; the experiments gradually became more and more successful, until it left no doubt that land can be cultivated by steam. The American inventive genius, stimulated by these results, set to work, and from the latest accounts, has succeeded in plowing an acre in twenty minutes.

How far it is practical must yet be seen. In England or France, where the labor of working cattle is at least one hundred per cent. higher than in the United States, the saving of such labor would be of great importance, and the land which the working cattle require for the production of the necessary food, could be very advantageously used for raising breadstuffs. But in neither England nor France has the steam-plow been, so far, introduced. It seems there exist many practical difficulties, which grow out of the complicated nature of *intensive* farming, without mentioning the difficulties which complicated and costly machinery occasions in open fields.

We have always cherished the idea that steam may be successfully employed for plowing, and we are still of the opinion that it will answer to a *certain* extent, and in *certain* localities, where, for instance, food for cattle is very dear; and on the other hand, where machinery is cheap and easily repaired, where able engineers are to be had at reasonable wages, where fuel is cheap, and water near the field, and where there is plenty of capital to enable the farmer to remodel his whole farm.

It would be of great assistance in breaking up our wild prairies. The work could be undertaken in contract by owners of a number of steam-plows, breaking up the prairies of whole districts, carrying with them the necessary engineers and hands, machinery, and tools for repairing, and moving westward with the progress of their work.

But we cannot convince ourselves that the steam-plow will become general in its application, and that it will entirely replace working cattle, especially as long as we are obliged to keep cattle to produce the necessary manure; as long as we

have to carry that manure into the fields, to gather and house the crops, to transport grain to market, and to perform many other jobs about the farm. When chemistry discovers a cheap and convenient fertilizer, steam-plowing might then be more advantageous; but as long as such a discovery has not been made, the steam-plow will be only instrumental, by our present mode of exhaustion, in deteriorating our fertile lands faster, and hastening the ruin of the Western States. It would make rich fathers, but many poor sons, and a number of depopulated States.

The application of steam to plowing will be limited, and the small farmers have little to fear from a depression of prices caused by an excessive production by means of steam-plows. To escape that influence entirely they must endeavor to find means to produce cheaper, in order to be able to compete with their rivals in foreign wheat markets.

However, the question is not yet settled, whether the United States is in reality a wheat-producing country, and if she will be able to calculate much upon exportation, especially if the ruinous effect upon that crop shall continue, as it has of late years.

Notwithstanding the United States has such an extensive territory of the best farming land, the wheat-growing region is very limited. The principal staple of the country is Indian corn, which is mostly consumed at home, finding little demand from abroad. Wheat is the principal grain which is exported. Besides the narrow limit wherein it succeeds, it is also a very uncertain crop, in consequence of the injurious influence of the winter, early frosts, long droughts, the ravages of insects, and ordinary diseases of the plant, which force many a farmer to abandon the cultivation of that crop; and then the production of wheat in the Northern States is rapidly declining, and in the Middle States it is almost stationary, and even in the Northwestern States, and especially on the prairie lands, this crop, so far, proves to be of short duration.

The question arises, what is the reason of the decline of that important crop? Why should it succeed for a number of years and all at once become an uncertain crop?

It arises from the simple fact, that the cultivated lands throughout the United States are rapidly deteriorating. This is not only true in the Eastern and Western States, but also in the Southern and Southwestern States, in the cotton districts. The lands are not deteriorating from a natural cause, but from the practice of that exhausting system, which has been carried

on most recklessly from the time of the first settlement to the present day.

Many an able writer prophesied the consequences of such an injurious system, and the day will come when the American farmer will be unable to produce any more profit from his lands, unless a change is made in the system of culture now practised. If there was not the West to resort to, the old States would be scarcely able to support their population. We most humbly suggested in various papers, published in official reports, as well as in other independent works, the necessity of adopting a more rational system, and the establishment of agricultural schools; but such remedies, and especially the latter, are considered too slow for our go-ahead generation, and the cry was, labor-saving machines, guano, and now a steam-plow.

The labor-saving machines fulfilled their task, but did nothing in the restoration of wornout lands; guano, that active stimulant is too costly to be advantageously employed in general, and the long-sought-for steam-plow will only be the means of hastening the ruin of more land.

This is an evil which grows every day more formidable, and is very difficult to check. To prove the correctness of our assertion, we quote from a very able paper, read at New-York before the American Geographical and Statistical Society, entitled, "A Statistical View of American Agriculture, its Home Resources and Foreign Markets, &c., &c., by John Jay, Esq., 1859."

"Much has been said of late years of a gradual deterioration of the soil in the older States, as evidenced in part by the decreasing ratio of crops to the acre, as compared with the ratio in former years and with the usual ratio in other countries.

"Mr. Morrell, M. C., of Vermont, by whom a bill has been introduced into the House of Representatives, designed to grant to the several States some ten millions of acres to be divided among them in proportion to the number of senators and representatives they send to Washington, with the view of promoting agricultural education and agricultural science, by the establishment of an agricultural college in each State, has made some startling statements upon this subject. He affirms that agriculture is rapidly declining in every State of the Union, that the quantity of food produced bears each year a smaller proportion to the number of acres under cultivation, and that over a very wide area some of the most useful crops bid fair to become extinct.

"A writer in the '*Year Book of Agriculture*, for 1855,' on the 'Alarming Deterioration of the Soil,' referred to various statistics of great significance in connection with this subject. Some of them regarded Massachusetts, where the hay crop declined 12 per cent. from 1840 to 1850, notwithstanding the addition of 90,000 acres to its mowing lands, and the grain crop absolutely depreciated 6,000 bushels, although the tillage lands had been increased by the addition of 60,000 acres.

"In Indiana the river bottoms which used to produce an average crop of sixty bushels of corn to the acre now produce but forty. In Wisconsin, which is younger still, it is estimated that only one half the bushels of wheat are now

raised to the acre that were raised twelve years ago ; and the writer declares, as the conclusion of the whole matter that ' the soils of New-England, after all the admonitions we have received, are annually growing poorer, and that *even the virgin lands of the great West* are rapidly becoming exhausted by their fertility.'

"He refers to the large falling off of the wheat and potato crops in New-England, which have, however, been replaced by Indian corn, and also to the falling off of wheat in Tennessee, Kentucky, Georgia, and Alabama, to the extent of 60 per cent. from 1840 to 1850, and assumes that the agricultural statistics of each State tell the same sad story.

"As regards a falling off in the production of the country, I think it is clear from a comparison, not of wheat and potatoes alone, but of the total products of the soil, especially of Indian corn, in 1840, with that of the same crops in 1850, that Mr. Morrell is mistaken ; but as productiveness of crops and destructiveness of soil are said to be the two most prominent features of American agriculture, the large harvests in our young States ought not to blind us to the fact that the fertility of those parts of the older States which once yielded as abundantly, seems to have been steadily diminishing for a long course of years.

"This fact is exhibited, not only in the wheat lands of New-England, and other parts of the North, but on the tobacco fields of Virginia, and the cotton plantations of the South ; and the subject undoubtedly deserves the most careful investigation.

"The deterioration of our soil is doubtless owing, in a great part, to a careless system of cultivation, common to new countries where land is cheap and labor is dear, and the soil is naturally productive, and the individual cultivator is intent upon large immediate returns, thoughtless of the permanent fertility of his farm, careless of the interests of his successors, and regardless of the prosperity of the community at large. It has been suggested that every agricultural people runs the same race of exhausting culture, shallow plowing, a continuous course of impoverishing, with neither rest, rotation, nor sufficient manure ; and that necessity alone can convince them that duty and interest both demand that land shall be so tilled as to increase rather than diminish in fruitfulness. Such a necessity, in the lessening crops of the Atlantic States, and westward emigration in search of more fertile territories, already presents itself to the intelligent American agriculturist ; and the reasonable belief that the same exhaustive system will soon begin to tell upon the most productive regions of the West, has led to the discussion in agricultural newspapers, and at farmers' clubs, of the philosophical causes of the exhaustion, and the best means of renovation."

I think that Pennsylvania ought to be excluded from the general reproach of exhausting and destroying the fertility of the land.

The original German settlers of the Keystone State, brought with them the system of farming of their forefathers, requiring a yearly supply of manure. Their fine farms, splendid barns, large herds of excellent cattle, and their general prosperity, are striking proofs of better farming. I admit that the descendants of the Germans in Pennsylvania are less speculative than their neighbors, but they are more persevering, industrious, and, above all, they love the soil, which they aim to improve instead of deteriorating it.

How often have I heard public speakers lauding the vast extent of inexhaustible lands, destined to feed the population of old, wornout, dilapidated Europe.

If we go on at this rate, as Mr. Jay photographs the present state of our farming prospects, perhaps the day may come when we will have to call on old Europe to supply the wants of the New World.

Throughout Europe exist certain systems of farming, wherein fallow and manuring have kept the land from exhaustion, and enabled the farmer to supply the wants of its population for centuries, and it is only since the increase of the population became so enormous, that Europe receives, now and then, supplies of breadstuffs from abroad; which the adjacent countries will in future be able to furnish, as soon as their railroads allow exportation.

Mr. Jay (page 58) remarks:

"At present, with occasional exceptions, our average crops per acre are even less, in our most fertile and almost virgin States, than in the soil of Europe, that has been cultivated for centuries.

"Take wheat for instance: the average crop per acre in New-York, Ohio, and Indiana, is 12 bushels; in France, it is 18; in England, 21; in Flanders, 23; in Scotland, 30; (on authority of Professor Johnston), and in New-Brunswick, 19."

Charles the Great introduced that wise measure, the three-field system, and it has become the leading system of the country. He ordered that all lands belonging to a village should be divided in three distinct fields; one for winter crop, one for summer crop, and the third for fallow; which was required to be manured, and in order to enable the farmer to produce the necessary manure, he allotted to each village a certain amount of pasture land, in common, a certain extent of natural prairie, and forest. To this wise system Europe is indebted to its present flourishing state of agriculture. That system required that one third of the land should remain fallow, and to receive some manure, besides the necessary plowing, whereby the land was invigorated, and properly prepared to produce fine crops to this very day.

The worst system is better than none. Unfortunately, the American farmer has none. He begins first by exhausting the land, and then by introducing a system which is neither *intensive* nor *extensive*. He plows the land in wide ridges, and turns with a patent plow the slices of a few inches in thickness down, and then up again, cropping incessantly for a number of years, and when every particle of nutriment has been taken out of the soil by the plants, or washed out by the rains; when the surface soil is perfectly lixiviated, when the seed of weeds have it completely impregnated, and finally when the

weeds overrun it in such a manner that they overpower the crop, he quits the homestead of his forefathers and turns his face westward in search of a fertile region, where he begins again the operation of deteriorating, and thousands and thousands of acres of those fertile prairies are laid waste, and will be, finally, also abandoned. The same is the case in the South ; in Virginia, South Carolina, Alabama, and even Mississippi, the lands begin to be deteriorated to such a degree, that the emigration from those States continues regularly to the fertile plains of Texas and Arkansas.

The English farmer, favored by cheap and abundant labor, and high prices for his products, farms *intensive*. He keeps a large number of live stock, to supply the field with the necessary amount of manure ; he subsoils and drains his fields, plows wide ridges, and cultivates his lands with care, and has a plenty of capital to make any improvement which promises profit.

The American farmer has little labor at his command ; he pays one hundred per cent. more for it than the English farmer ; he keeps no cattle for the sake of manure ; his products bring lower prices, on account of the great distances it has to travel before reaching the final market ; he has no capital to command, labors thus under many disadvantages. It is out of question to imitate the *intensive* system of the English husbandry ; it would be better for him to adopt the *extensive* system of the Arabs or the Hungarians, or of the farmers of Southern Germany. They have for centuries cultivated the same soil, in the most primitive manner, and with the most primitive implements, yet their lands produce to this very day, on an average, more than those of our farmers.

The Arabs, Hungarians, and other nations, have, like the American farmer, a plenty of land, but little manual labor ; their main aim is to cultivate the greatest extent with the smallest amount of labor, without injury to the natural fertility of the soil. It is no art to ruin lands, but it is an art to cultivate them without much manuring, and to retain them in a lasting fertility, in which those nations have succeeded, indeed, and it is worth our while to look into their mode of farming, and to see whether we could not borrow something from them, to save our land from further deterioration.

The Arabs cultivate alternately a portion of their arable lands, and the rest remains for years in succession to pasture. They raise very extensively wheat and barley. They prepare

their lands exclusively with the *araire* or *dental*, an implement still clumsier and more imperfect than the dental of the South of France.

With this primitive implement, they plow a furrow and cover with the slice—a strip of land which rests intact—they continue so with the rest of the field, which has then the aspect of being entirely plowed, although, in fact, they *only plow one half*. Upon these ridges and open furrows wheat or barley is sown, harrowed, and left to nature to perfect the crop. Although the same lands have been thus cropped for centuries, without ever receiving any manure whatever, they produce fine crops.

How is it possible that the lands of the Arabs have stood this continual cultivation for centuries, without showing signs of deterioration, and the rich lands of the West are ruined in a few scores of years?

In the *first place*, the Arabs leave the land, after two or three crops, a number of years to pasture. *Secondly*, they expose their lands as much as possible to the influence of the atmosphere, to act upon the exposed subsoil in the open furrow, and upon the slices, weathering the inorganic substances and decomposing organic matter. *Thirdly*, the sward slices, which are laid upon an intact strip of land, are not disturbed, and have sufficient time to decompose, and thus the gaseous combinations, produced from the decay of vegetable matter are not liable to escape, and the soluble salts are retained, furnishing to the roots of the crop a plenty of nourishment. *Fourthly*, one half of the field remaining intact, being thus more compact, retains moisture better, which acts very beneficially upon the roots, keeping the crops in vigor, even during the hot hours of a tropical mid-day. *Fifthly*, the seeds of weeds being buried beneath the slices and intact portion, they cannot germinate, remain dormant, or perish. *Sixthly*, the narrow ridges are powerfully affected by the harrow, and furnish loose soil enough to cover the open furrow, for the grain to grow in.

The system of plowing in the lower Danube valley, resembles the Arabian. There they make two furrow ridges, leaving one third of the land intact.

The Bifang system, practised in the upper Danube valley and other parts of Europe, consists in four furrow ridges, leaving a deep open furrow between every small ridge, exposing thus the subsoil for a long time, and admitting its admixture

into the surface soil. The ridges being high, the rain cannot so easily carry off the soluble salts and nutriment, and the harrow can be applied with great effect, opening the soil and preparing it in a manner that the crop succeeds in the furrows as well as on the ridges, at the same time assisting it much to drain the land.

It affords a certain economy of labor over the wide ridge mode of plowing, and admits a partial plowing of the ridges by diminishing each ridge two furrows, exposing the centre portion, for weeks, to the influence of the atmosphere, as well as the slices taken from it.

Imperfect as these modes of plowing land may appear at first, yet, on close examination, we find that they possess important advantages over our present wide ridge system, that the subsoil is much more and for a long time exposed to the influence of light, air, and warmth; that the subsoil is always accessible to further plowing or subsoiling; that these improving operations can be carried on at any time, and do not require immediate execution, as in our present mode of plowing; that they aim at the very important object, to economize labor, to open a great deal of land in the shortest space of time and with the smallest amount of manual labor; that the soluble combinations are not so easily carried off by the rain or drainage; and by regular change of rest and cultivation that the lands remain in vigor, and are not liable to be exhausted.

These nations follow certain systems religiously, without deviating from them, without even allowing for the sake of a temporary advantage, to overtask their lands, which have been the source of inexhaustible supplies for centuries.

The greater portion of the United States has scarcely been settled one century, yet, in many districts, the lands are in the utmost state of exhaustion.

The deplorable state of deterioration of our farming lands must be ascribed to two distinct causes. The one is the continual cropping, without any regular system, or even allowing to the land a recompense for its services, so much so that even the fertile bottom lands begin to refuse to yield those magnificent crops of former times.

The other cause is the shallow furrows, which have been gradually deprived of all the elements of fertility; a mode of plowing which hardens the subsoil, making it impervious to water, and drowns in wet seasons the poor delicate crops, and injures the more powerful corn crops.

To remedy the evil, the American farmer is obliged to adopt a well-established system of extensive farming, similar to some practices in the Old World, which must be observed rigorously, not allowing himself to overtax now and then a field for the sake of immediate gain. He must increase his live stock in order to accumulate some manure, and must endeavor to apply it in the best and most rational manner to his main crops. He must introduce a new mode of plowing which will enable him to plow more land than he can at present with the ordinary mode of plowing. The new mode of plowing must also allow him to prepare his land deep, at least ten or twelve inches, in the most appropriate manner for corn, cotton, tobacco, and sugar cane; and to penetrate into the subsoil of his old fields, where, for scores of years, the soluble matter from the surface soil has accumulated, and thus enable him to restore again his lands, and change their entire character by a proper intermixture of the subsoil with the barren surface, where the nature of the subsoil admits it. Such a mode of preparing the soil is obtained in combining the Arabian with the Bifang system, whereby all the requisite conditions of proper plowing are fulfilled, and carried out in the most practical manner.

This new mode of plowing consists in opening a wide furrow, say from eighteen to twenty-four inches or more, and four inches deep, splitting the slice in two, and turning one part of it to the right and the other to the left of the furrow. The next furrow is to be opened parallel to the first one, and care must be had that the slices are placed side by side, to give the plowed field the appearance represented in fig. 1.



Fig. 1.

The new plow with which we execute this mode of plowing, has in the rear another double mould-board plow, which is set six to eight inches below the main plow, thus opening, in one and the same operation, a smaller but deeper furrow, giving the field the appearance in fig. 2.

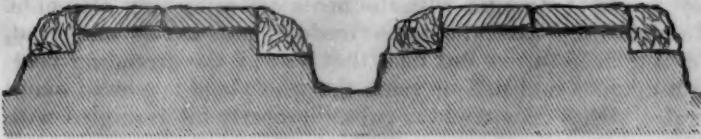


Fig. 2.

The first and wide furrow being four inches deep, the small one eight, makes the centre furrow twelve inches in depth. The soil thrown out from the centre furrow is placed on each side of it, in the wide furrow, and leaves thus the place wherein the corn is to be planted exposed to the influence of the light air and warmth, to change not only the physical constitution of the soil, but at the same time weathering its minerals and promoting the decay of its organic constituents, and facilitating the proper intermingling of the various kinds of soil, in the exact proportion as the one or the other soil may require it. When thus the land has been prepared, and exposed during the winter or for some time, the harrow is passed over the furrows, and the loose soil from the slices overlying the intact strips is mixed with the subsoil thrown out from the centre furrows, and thus mingled together and carried back into the furrow. After the operation of harrowing, the field will look thus :



Fig. 3.

In the centre of the small furrow thus filled up, are planted corn, sugar-cane, cotton, tobacco, &c.

The roots have twelve inches of deep pulverized and well-mingled soil, to extend in, and the subsequent hilling, which by this system can be carried on to the fullest extent without injuring the roots of the crops, provides the plants with sufficient soil to develop their roots in the most complete manner, which is very important for corn and the sugar-cane, as we will show hereafter.

The portion of the land which is left intact and covered over with the slices from the wide furrow, being compact, retains moisture longer, and furnishes thus the roots even in

long spells of drought with the necessary refreshing elements. The following year the same mode of plowing is employed, and the deep furrow cut near that one of the preceding year, in a manner that in four years the whole land is plowed about twelve inches deep, and the subsoil properly intermingled with the surface soil, changing its nature, making it more or less retentive, according to the character of the substratum and surface soil.

The centre furrow affords thus all the conditions for the success of a deep-rooting crop. Every farmer knows that Indian corn, tobacco, cotton, and sugar-cane, require deep, well-prepared land. The deeper the land is prepared, the better and richer is the yield of such crops.

Prof. De Bow publishes in his able work on the *Industrial Resources, Statistics, &c., of the United States*, a report on Indian corn, signed Joel R. Poinsett (formerly Secretary of War of the United States), in which the reporter mentions that in a memoir, published by one of the best practical farmers of Delaware, it is stated that: "To obtain the greatest possible quantity of Indian corn from the least allowed quantity of land, the soil should be as deep as the farmer can make—if possible twelve inches; admitting the same quality in each acre, it will, I think, be found on trial, that if one acre of land, the soil of which is four inches deep, and which has been plowed for the crop no deeper, will produce twenty bushels of corn, the same acre, extending the soil and plowing eight inches, will produce forty bushels, and if twelve inches, eighty bushels with the same labor."

How many farmers plow over six inches? Very few, and Indian corn has to force its powerful roots along the hardened subsoil to find nutriment in the wornout soil. To ascertain at what depth Indian corn projects its roots into the soil, I planted, in the spring of 1858, some Virginia corn in a rich loam, which had been spaded over at the depth of thirty-six inches. It came up well, and went through all the various stages of development in the most perfect manner. When the ears began to ripen, I removed the soil from around the plants, and dug them up with the greatest care, to the very extremity of the delicate fibrous roots, and found that they were, on an average, about twenty-four inches in length, projecting from the stem at an angle of forty-five degrees, each plant having five sets of roots, which grew from the joint in circular ranges. In the top range I counted twenty-five, in the second below,

eighteen, the third twelve, the fourth ten, and the last, or the foot range about eight roots. The roots of the first range were the strongest, having a quarter of an inch in diameter, and, being of a woody nature, very powerful and tenacious; they decreased in size as they approached the lowest range, or foot roots. Above the range of top roots, the first joint of the stalk was provided with a range of strong air roots, inclining at the same angle as the ground roots, toward the ground, which, when covered with earth, become perfect roots, showing that hilling would be of great advantage, if it were not done at the expense of the exposure of the roots which are forced, in consequence of the shallowness of the ground, to extend along the surface.

We saw that the roots assumed an angle of forty-five degrees, growing nearly vertically, and not horizontally, a position which they are obliged to assume when the ground is only plowed five or six inches in depth, thus forcing them to remain near the surface, and be exposed to every change which takes place in the weather, and it accounts for the fact that corn is at once retarded in its growth, in a cold spring and hot summer month; and why many advocate hilling and others reject it.

The improved system prepares the soil at proper depth, and protects the roots from ever coming in contact with the cultivator, or any other implement when working the soil between the rows of corn. It prepares the land in such a manner, that there is always sufficient moisture to sustain vegetable life, even in seasons of uncommon dryness, and it will increase, consequently, the yield of the corn crop at least fifty per cent.

Indian corn is the main staple of our agricultural products, and it has been the making of the whole Union. It is the surest crop that the first settler can raise, and the surest and most profitable for old settlements. Our yearly crop is valued at present at \$300,000,000, while wheat is estimated at \$90,000,000, and cotton \$100,000,000. Thus, our new method will tend to increase the great staple of the United States.

For preparing land with the new mode of plowing for wheat or other grain, the rear double mould-board plow is replaced by a number of small plows, or cultivators. The main double mould-board plow opens a wide furrow, and the small plow or cultivator opens the subsoil in the wide furrow, five or more inches deep. The harrow pulverizes the land sufficiently, and covers the furrow as well as the slices with fine, loose soil,

giving the whole field the aspect of well-prepared land, and a sufficiently deep soil for the grain to be planted in.

The new mode of plowing answers thus fully for deep-rooting crops, as well as for small grain and grass crops; and combines the advantages of deep plowing and intermingling of the subsoil, and the economy of labor, better than any mode of plowing ever practised.

It answers exceedingly well for prairie lands, and the introduction of this mode of plowing into the Mississippi valley, will open a new era for the farmers and planters. It will establish a new system of cultivation, which not only assures the farmer rich crops, but it will enable him to raise double the amount, and thus extend the culture of corn, wheat, cotton, tobacco, and sugar, over a greater number of acres, and at the same time improve his land materially and lastingly; increase the wheat crop, re-establishing confidence in agriculture, and laying the foundation to his individual prosperity, as well as of the State and the whole Union.

For breaking up prairies, the slices being of nine or twelve inches in width only, afford little resistance to turn them over, and an additional yoke of oxen will be sufficient to execute the whole operation at once, in the most perfect manner; and in one day, one plow and the customary manual labor and team, plus another yoke of oxen, will be able to break up two acres of prairieland, ready for planting corn.

The furrow slices of newly plowed prairies being exceedingly tough, a perfect network of roots, and thus resisting for some time the lighter sorts of plows, require some time before they are properly decomposed so as to be easily worked. In the manner the prairies are plowed at present, the farmer requires a strong team for the second and third plowing to divide the partly decomposed slices. With the new mode a light team will suffice, because the slices can remain two or three years if it should be necessary, in the same position where the first plowing placed them, until the slices, as well as the sod underneath, are perfectly decomposed. In the meantime, the wide open furrow offers plenty of loose soil, which the farmer can cultivate very advantageously in corn. The undecomposed slices furnish enough loose and rich soil for hilling, and after the first crop, one horse shovel plow is sufficient to prepare the land along the centre furrow in a manner as to produce a fine crop. When the slices are perfectly decayed it requires very little power to plow them, and a new beginner on the prairies

may get along with one horse for several years, provided that the first plowing is done properly and by a strong team. The new beginner is thus enabled to raise at once a sure and large crop of corn, with the smallest amount of cattle labor, and economize the outlay for additional implements and working cattle, facilitating thus greatly the first settling on prairie farms affording economy in time, money, and labor, three important items in starting a new farm.

For the older settlers on the prairies, who feel already that their lands begin to be less sure for wheat crops, and perceive a great falling off even in the corn crop, the new mode of plowing affords the surest means of restoring the lands to their original productiveness.

All chemical analyses of prairie soil agree therein, that it is exceedingly rich in organic matter; that it contains a very large amount of nitrogen, giving it that peculiar character of fertility. But when the prairie soil is once opened, worked, and exposed to the influence of the air, light, and warmth, the organic matter decomposes very fast, the rain washes away the soluble salts, and the soil gets less productive and continually more friable and loose, unfit to protect the wheat crop during winter from being thrown out and killed; thus it happens that millions and millions of acres of prairie lands become perfectly unfit for wheat and even too poor for corn; yet the remedy to make these very lands the best wheat and corn soil is close at hand. It would only require deeper plowing in order to bring up some of the clay of the subsoil and intermingle it with the surface soil to give it a binding medium, making it more retentive, which is the most essential condition for wheat soil.

The new mode of plowing affords the greatest facilities to accomplish that great object in the most perfect manner, and admits the intermingling of the soils to any degree desirable, and restores thus at once the fertility of the prairies bedded upon a proper subsoil.

*To restore the wornout tobacco, cotton, and sugar lands.* What we have said in regard to the restoration of wornout prairie lands, is applicable to any lands with a proper subsoil. In plowing deep into the subsoil, and making it proper for planting, by intermingling it with the surface soil, the plants will find in the new soil plenty of nourishment which has been washed into the subsoil, and there retained and stored away, remunerating the planter amply for calling it into activity.

Sand land, which, through long cropping, has become perfectly barren, will be much improved by the new mode of plowing; even there the subsoil is richer than the surface soil, and the cotton plants, for instance, being placed into the centre furrow, below the level of the surface, the plants can strike their roots deep into the ground, and are thus protected from the influence of the sun, and the portions between the rows remaining intact, are more compact, consequently more retentive, furnish sufficient moisture to the roots and keep the plants in vigor. Sand lands should never be too much loosened. The new mode of plowing carries that principle into effect in the most practical and rational manner, and it will be the means to continue to produce large crops of the valuable Sea Island cotton.

The plow with which the new mode of plowing is accomplished, is a simple combination of known parts. It costs about as much as three ordinary two-horse plows. It will require in new prairie lands, one yoke of oxen more, to execute at once the whole operation of opening the prairie and of plowing the centre furrow. In old cultivated lands, two yoke of oxen will suffice.

I prefer a wheel plow to a swing plow. The new plow being so arranged that it requires no holding, and no further handling than to take it from and put it into the ground; thus, *one able-bodied man*, who understands plowing and driving cattle, is sufficient to plow in one day, *two acres*, with twelve inches deep, centre furrows, preparing thus the land, in the most suitable manner, for corn, tobacco, cotton and sugar, and affording all facilities to intermingle the sub with the surface soil, changing the nature of the land in the most desirable manner.

The new mode enables settlers on prairies, to open, with about one hundred dollars, sixty acres of land, instead of thirty by the present mode, and to raise thus, double the amount of corn for several years, with scarcely any further outlay of plowing.

It enables all farmers to extend cultivation over *double the area* of their lands. To produce *double the amount* of crops, with their usual force of manual labor.

It is the only means to restore worn-out lands, and secure to the South large crops of tobacco, cotton, and sugar, and to give to the prairie soil that retentive quality, so important to the success of wheat, and the sole means to afford the United

States a chance to compete, with her breadstuffs, advantageously in foreign grain markets.

[The *new and improved plow*, referred to in the above article, for which *letters patent have been applied for*, consists of two plows with three coulters attached to one and the same beam or beams.

The main plow has a double mould-board, with a proper share and three coulters, which are placed in front of the share, in order to divide the furrow slice, and to cut and separate it from the land on both sides of the plow.

Several inches below the main plow, and in the rear of the same, is placed a smaller double mould-board plow; both plows and coulters are well secured to the beam or beams. To keep the main plow steady, and to prevent it from penetrating too deep into the soil, there are one or two wheels in the rear and between the mould-board over the share of the rear plow, which can be set higher or lower, as the nature of the soil may require.

This plow may be used as a wheel or swing plow. It will be more convenient to use wheels in front, to rest the beam upon.

The mould-board may be made to expand or contract according to the width of the share, and the coulters can be set accordingly. The rear plow may also be made with expanding mould-boards, to open wide or narrow furrows, as circumstances may require.—*EDITOR.*]

## ART. II.—LIFE AND LIBERTY IN AMERICA.\*

THE rapid growth and extension of our country, the increase of population, the annexation of new territory, the admission of new States, the building up of new cities, and the magic growth of old ones—the changes in the face of the country daily effected by agriculture and by internal improvements, and various other ever-changing phenomena hourly evolved in our wonderful national progress, give annually a new face to the country, and require new descriptions.

The travels of truthful, intelligent, and appreciative foreigners, best supply this continually recurring desideratum.

Such a foreigner is Doctor Mackay, and we welcome his book as equally interesting, instructive, and useful. 'Tis true he is not without his prejudices and his partialities. As an Englishman, he loves and prefers England to all other countries, and deems her social and political institutions the best in the world. This naturally inclines him to prefer the North to the South; but he states fully and fairly the facts from which his opinions are deduced, and on which his preferences

\* *Life and Liberty in America.* By CHARLES MACKAY, LL. D. F. S. A.

are founded, and we think the South will find in his statements, a triumphant vindication of her institutions, and that our Doctor Mackay, convicted by his own book will stand in the predicament of another poet, who had an unaccountable dislike for Doctor Fell.

"I do not like thee, Doctor Fell.  
The reason why, I cannot tell.  
But this I know full well,  
I do not like thee, Doctor Fell!"

The great fault of ninety-nine authors out of a hundred, in our day, is, that they are mere caricaturists; they seize upon prominent characteristics and magnify them to suit the tastes and the intellects of their readers. It is the great curse of cheap literature. Men write for the masses, because the masses pay best. But the populace delight in caricature. They cannot understand or appreciate delicate limning, elegant tracery, refined and elevated sentiment, original and profound thought, nor scholastic learning. The commonplace, the superficial, the sensual, the gross, and the gaudy, are alone adapted to their torpid intellectual tastes.

Our fashionable novelists, and our fashionable essayists, without effort, write down to those tastes, and flood the market with books whose popularity is in inverse ratio to their merit. No book pays, unless it be a very bad book, for few read good books.

Doctor Mackay does not serve up a platter for the *dura illia messorum*. He writes neither for truant schoolboys, nor sentimental chambermaids.

His descriptions are not merely striking and graphic, but they are just, accurate, and delicate. He sees and he writes as a philosophic poet, who can analyze and account for the sensations and impressions by which he is affected by outward objects.

This duplicate qualification appears in his description of the Falls of Niagara. He is not, like the vulgar spectator, stricken, amazed, confounded, by its noise, its tumult, its dashing and resistless movement. To him it is still, quiet, noiseless, and solitary. Its continuous, unremitted roar, the condition and the essence of its being and its existence, acts on the ear like silence, not noise; for, like silence, 'tis the groundwork on which all other sounds are formed. It has become the element in which the auditor exists, and he is as insensible to its influence, as to the weight of the superincum-

bent atmosphere. Its steady, unchanging, perpetual current reminds one rather of the stillness of the heavenly bodies, than of the movement of the hurricane, the dashing of the waves, or the fretful precipitancy of the flooded rivulet. Perpetual movement, like this which changes nothing, is but immobility, because the distance and relation of objects remain unchanged. Such is the feeling which it impresses upon the spectator. Niagara has no compeer; nothing like it in the world. It stands dissociated and alone, the very genius of solitude. Surrounding crowds break not in upon its silence, its immobility, and its solitariness, for its grandeur abstracts the attention of the beholder from all other objects and subjects, and fills, and absorbs his thoughts. The conception which we derive of Niagara, from Doctor Mackay's description, is altogether different from what we had gathered from other writers. If now called to describe it ourselves, we should say: "After the first shock of surprise is over; when we have viewed it for some time, and begin to drink in its beauties, repose, not action, is the idea that it suggests, and the feeling which it inspires. It now seems still, silent, solitary, and sublime. 'Tis the calm, composed presence of Eternity and of Omnipotence."

Our author is correct, felicitous, and appreciative in his description of Washington city; of several other cities, and of the Mississippi river. His book contains too much useful statistics, and many wise political suggestions and reflections.

Americans may be well gratified by his account of New-York, and owe him a debt of gratitude for the boldness and magnanimity of his admissions. We extract a part of what he writes on this subject:

"In one of his famous letters to the Pennsylvanian, the late Rev. Sydney Smith accused the whole American people of pride, conceit, and presumption. Smarting under a sense of injuries inflicted upon him, not by the State, or city of New-York, which had not the remotest connection with his grievances, real or supposed, he hurled this sweeping denunciation against all the States; declaring, among other odd things, in his own odd way, that 'this new and vain people could never forgive England, because Bond street was superior to Broadway.' It is fourteen years since the Rev. Sydney Smith thus disburdened his mind, prompted to do so, by the fact, disagreeable to him, that his pockets had been previously disburdened by his own desire of making more than five per cent. by the transatlantic investment of his money. But whatever may have been the appearance of this great artery of New-York in that remote period of its history, a period, when, as travellers told us, pigs prowled about the principal thoroughfares, and lay down at night on the marble steps of marble palaces, in snug and affectionate familiarity with Irish emigrants—Sydney Smith's assertion of the inferiority of Broadway to Bond street is ludicrously untrue at the present time

Bond street! quotha? Bond street is no more to be compared to Broadway, for beauty, extent, life, bustle, and wealth, than a ding farthing of the reign of George III. to a bright, new sovereign of the days of Queen Victoria. There is no street in London that can be declared superior, or, all things considered, even equal to Broadway. It is a street *sui generis*, containing in itself the characteristics of the Boulevard des Italiens at Paris, and of Cheapside, or Fleet street in London, with here and there a dash of White Chapel, or the Minories, and here and there a dash of Liverpool and Dublin. It is longer, more crowded, and fuller of fine buildings than the Boulevard des Italiens, it is as bustling as Cheapside; and more than all, it has a sky above it, as bright as the sky of heaven. Its aspect is thoroughly Parisian. Were it not for the old, familiar names of Smith, Jones, and Brown, over the doors of the stores and warehouses, and the English placards and advertisements that everywhere meet the eye, the stranger might fancy himself under the maximized government of Napoleon III., instead of being under that of the minimized and mild government of an American republic—a government so infinitesimally light in its weight, and carried on by persons so little known, that strangers in this, the 'Empire State,' as it is called, and even the citizens themselves, are scarcely more cognizant of the name of the governor than a Londoner is of the name of the high sheriff of Flaitshire, or of the lord lieutenant of Merionetho—[By REVIEWER. The maximized system suits cities best, as witness Washington under her increased police force, and New-York under the firm, vigorous, conservative rule of Mayor Wood. Baltimore is wisely attempting the maximizing system. Government minimized is the folly and curse of our day.]

"England has given names to the people of Broadway, but France and continental Europe seem to have given them their manners. Flag-staffs on the roof of every third or fourth house, banners flaunting from the windows, a constant rat-tat-too of drums, as detachments of militia regiments (and very fine regiments they are, and very splendidly accoutred), pass to and fro, all add to their illusion; and it is only the well-known vernacular of the city of St. Paul's, spiced occasionally with the still more piquant vernacular of the city of St. Patrick's, that bring the cheated fancy back to the reality, and prove to the Englishman that he is among his own people.

"Were there anything like uniformity in its long lines of buildings, Broadway would be one of three or four of the most magnificent streets in the world. Even without any general design, for each man builds exactly as he pleases, the street, in its details, surpasses any street that the British Isles can show. From the Battery, facing the sea, where Broadway has a very ignoble commencement, to the Trinity church, there is nothing remarkable about it; but from Trinity church of brown stone, with its elegant spire, to Grace church, built entirely of white marble, a distance of nearly three miles, and thence on to Union Square and the statue of Washington, Broadway offers one grand succession of commercial palaces. Formerly, and perhaps when Sydney Smith wrote—the houses, for the most part, were of brick, gaily colored, with here and there a house of brown stone, or of granite. But the brick is in gradual process of extirpation, and white marble, pure, glittering, brilliant—without speck or flaw—is rapidly taking its place. The St. Nicholas hotel, one of the most sumptuous buildings in New-York, is a palace of white marble, with upward of one hundred windows, facing on Broadway. To the right, and to the left, and in front, are other palaces of the same material, pure as the Parian—larger than the largest warehouse in St. Paul's churchyard, and devoted to the same or similar purposes; some for the wholesale, but the greater majority for the retail trade. 'Dry goods,' or 'Linen draper' stores compete with each other in the use of this costly material, and such has been, and is, the rage for it, that a few years hence a house of any other material than marble, granite, or iron, will be the exception to the rule in Broadway, and in the main thoroughfares leading from it, east and west. Most of these buildings, taken separately, are fine specimens of architecture, but the general effect is not striking, from the total absence of plan and method, already alluded

to, and which seems to be inevitable in a country where every one is a portion of the government, and of the sovereignty, and considers himself bound to consult nobody's taste but his own. But this peculiarity is not confined to America, or St. Paul's churchyard would not be what it is, and the noble proportions of the Cathedral would not be marred as they are, by the too close proximity of the hideous warehouses that have been gradually piled up around it—monuments alike of commercial pride and bad taste. Brown stone edifices rank next in number and size to the marble palaces; and a few of cast-iron, with elegant Corinthian pillars, add to the variety of architecture in Broadway. Conspicuous among the edifices which give its most imposing character to this busy and beautiful street, are Stewart's dry goods store, the iron palace of Messrs. Haughwout & Co., such hotels as the St. Nicholas, the Metropolitan, the Lafarge House, the St. Denis, the Clarendon, the New-York, and the Astor House. The last mentioned was some years ago the boast and pride of New-York, and the wonder of strangers; but the city has outgrown its southern limits, and stretched itself far away to the north and northwest, and new hotels like the St. Nicholas and Metropolitan have dwarfed the Astor House in size, and eclipsed it in splendor. The St. Nicholas makes up from 500 to 700 beds, and the Metropolitan nearly as many. Both of these, as well as the others mentioned, represent the magnificent scale on which the New-Yorkers do business, as well as the more than Parisian publicity with which families eat and drink and pass the day."

His account of his trip down the Mississippi, from St. Louis to New-Orleans, is the best evidence of his descriptive powers. The subject is as unpromising as Washington Irving's "Rainy Sunday in a Country Inn." In either case the author rises above the subject, lends charms to monotony by artistic description, and idealizes and verifies the *materiem superabat opus* of Ovid. Most of the description is conveyed in rhyme, from which we shall quote. We say rhyme, not poetry—for without fervor, passion, sentiment, there can be no poetry, and these find no place in a prosperous voyage down the Mississippi, unattended by collisions or explosions. The manner in which our author treat his subject evinces in its outlines the comprehensive *coup d'œil* of the philosopher, and in its selection of topics and details, the sensitive and discriminating perception of the poet. The reader must take our criticisms on trust until he has read the book himself, for we have not room to verify them by copious quotations.

He says: "We had on board the Philadelphia, on starting from the levee, 1,000 head of chickens, 400 turkeys, 1,100 sheep, 180 hogs, 2,000 barrels of flour, 1,000 sacks of corn, 400 barrels of pork, besides 200 or 300 bales of hemp and cotton, and a load of fuel." But the ark had only begun to load. He tells us in rhyme:

"Sometimes, in Missouri, we delayed an hour,  
Taking in a cargo—of the corn and flour;  
Sometimes, in Kentucky, shipped a pile of logs,  
Sometimes sheep or turkeys, once a drove of hogs.

Ruthlessly the negroes drove them down the bank,  
 Stubbornly the porkers eyed the narrow plank,  
 Till, at length, rebellious, snuffing danger near,  
 They turned their long snouts landward and grunted out their fear;  
 And the white-teethed negroes, grinning with delight,  
 Rode and bestrode them, and charged them in the fight.  
 And then came shrill lamenting, and agony, and wail,  
 And pummelling and hoisting, and tugging at the tail,  
 Until the swine were conquered, and southward passed our ship,  
*Panting, steaming, snorting, down the Mississip.*"

Again :

"We took on board a cargo of *misérable* men;  
 A freight of human creatures, bartered, bought, and sold,  
 Like hogs, or sheep, or poultry—the living blood for gold."

A day or two after, he thus graphically describes their *misery* :

"Whence the sound of music? whence the merry laugh?  
 Surely boon companions, who jest, and sing, and quaff.  
 No! the slaves rejoicing—happier than the free,  
 With guitar and banjo, and burst of revelry."

Do the exiled tenantry of Scotland, driven forth (as our author tells us, to make room for sheep) houseless, hopeless, and forlorn), thus rejoice? What are their *intellectual enjoyments*, which our author thinks, "conquer agony," and make their freedom preferable to negro slavery?

The negro is going to a more genial clime, and a better home in the South. He has holiday, good fare, and bright prospects ahead. Why not rejoice. But what is to gladden the poor "Exile of Erin," or the expelled tenantry of Scotland? The tyrant Augustus drove off shepherds to make room for soldiers. English landlords sacrifice men to grow sheep.

"Better to fall before the lion than the wolf!"

Capital in Europe wields more than kingly power, with more than wolfish cruelty.

The monotony of life on the Mississippi, is very happily hit off :

"Weary were the forests, dark on either side;  
 Weary were the marshes, stretching far and wide;  
 Weary were the wood-piles, strewn upon the bank;  
 Weary were the cane groves growing wild and dank;  
 Weary were the tree stumps, charred and blacked with fire;  
 Weary was the wilderness, without a house or spire;  
 Weary were the log huts, built upon the sand;  
 Weary were the waters, weary was the land;  
 Weary was the cabin, with its gilded wall;  
 Weary was the deck we trod, weary, weary, all;  
 Nothing seemed so pleasant to hope for or to keep;  
 Nothing in the wide world, so beautiful as sleep;  
 As we journeyed southward in our lazy ship,  
*Dawdling, idling, loafing, down the Mississip."*

## Of New-Orleans he thus writes:

"The docks of Liverpool are busy enough, but there is no life or animation at Liverpool at all equal to that which may be seen at the levee of the 'Crescent city.' The fine open space, the clear atmosphere, the joyousness and alacrity of the negroes, the countless throngs of people, the forests of funnels and masts, the plethora of cotton and of corn, the roar of arriving and departing steamboats, and the deeper and more constant roar of the multitude, all combine to impress the imagination with visions of wealth, power, and dominion, and to make the levee as attractive to the philosopher, as it must be to the merchant and man of business."

Nothing in the book is superior to the description of Washington city. We have space but for a short extract:

"Besides its capitol with its towering dome, Washington possesses many elegant public buildings, such as the White House, or executive mansion, the Treasury buildings, the Patent office and the Post-office. Were these edifices, which are mostly of white marble, concentrated, as they might and ought to have been, in the great artery of Pennsylvania avenue, instead of being scattered over various portions of the city, Washington might have possessed at least one street to rival or surpass the Rue de Rivoli, at Paris. But the opportunity has been lost, and can never again occur. Still it is impossible not to believe Washington will yet become one of the most splendid cities on the continent. It has all the elements of beauty, as well as of greatness, both in itself and in its immediate environs, and when it becomes as populous as New-York, which it is likely to be in fifty years, unless the seat of government be transferred, in the interval to some such central place as St. Louis, nearer to the centre of the Republic, the inferior buildings that line its spacious streets will disappear, and its 'magnificent distances' will be adorned with an architecture worthy of the capital city, perhaps, of a hundred young and vigorous republics."

Dr. Mackay is obviously a highly conscientious, kind, amiable, and truthful man. Yet he has his prejudices—prejudices, which never distort or color his statements of facts, but which occasion him to adopt (not form) opinions without consideration, and in defiance of all known facts, and of all human history and experience. Such is his prejudice against Southern climates. Ancient civilization, the *terra cognita antiquis* was confined to the South, as well as in Europe, Asia, and Africa. In Asia and Europe, barbarians possessed the North, and have left not a trace of art, science, industry, or energy, behind. They were indolent and stupid, benumbed and torpid. Cold benumbs and renders inert the mental and physical faculties. Heat stimulates them into action. The Athenians, Phenicians, Persians, Egyptians, Carthaginians, and Romans, were equally remarkable for industry, intelligence, and enterprise. Modern civilization started into life in Venice, Genoa, Arabia, Spain, and Portugal. In America, even among the Indians, art and industry, and monuments of art and industry, were found within and near the tropics. Far to the north and to the south, the Indian was an unmitigated savage. The peo-

ple now in Florida and Georgia, near the tropics, are as industrious, energetic, and enterprising, as any in the world; while torpor (peculiar to cold regions) is creeping over Canada. Nay, all the great peoples of the world have not only been southerners, but slaveholders, also. Every line of history refutes our author's doctrine, that slavery and southern climate enervates national character, and none more triumphantly than the history of our Sunny South—the land of Washington. The South has furnished to the nation more great statesmen and warriors than the North. Southern enterprise and daring, and diplomatic skill, unaided almost, and often opposed by the North, have annexed new territories, and quadrupled the extent of our dominions. The South, *without the aid of foreign immigration*, has colonized a much larger extent of territory than the North—a territory, not of prairie land, inviting to easy cultivation, but of dense, malarious forest, infested by savages. She has not only reclaimed and settled this immense domain, but is already producing a larger agricultural surplus than any other equal population. And she has done all this, and yet fed, and clothed, and housed her laborers, as our author admits, far better than the white laborers of Europe are fed, or clothed, or housed. The rapid increase of those laborers is conclusive evidence of their happy condition. The Yankees may be the “sharpest, smartest,” most ingenious people in the world, but the Southerners are the most industrious, the most enterprising, the greatest people in the world. 'Tis they, not the North, that govern, and give tone and character to the nation. And for why? Simply because their society is in that normal, natural state that made Rome, and Greece, and India, so distinguished.

We are the assailed party, and are reluctantly compelled, in self-defence, to hurl back upon our assailants, imputations, true as to them, false as to us.

Our author is entirely in error, when he says of us, while commenting on *Cannibals All*: “He would not only enslave the negroes, but the poor Irish and German immigrants as fast as they arrive in New-York,” &c. He is reviewing *Cannibals All*. In that work we frequently explain our theory, which is to this effect: “The social forms of our North and South are each excellent, and should not be changed or tampered with. The social condition of the South is normal, natural, historical, and biblical; that of the North, exceptional, but admirably adapted to a new country where lands are cheap

and abundant, population sparse, capital but little power to tyrannize over labor, and wages good. And that until the continent is densely peopled, which may never occur, this free and *exceptional* form of society will answer well. But that in old and densely-settled countries domestic slavery is preferable to that slavery to capital and skill which takes the place of domestic slavery, when the latter institution is abolished." Now, we are perfectly willing to rest the proof or refutation of our theory on the admissions and facts furnished by the Doctor. In replying to us, he says: "If the sole aim, end, and enjoyment of the bulk of mankind be to eat and to drink, to be clad and housed, and to have no care for the morrow, no moral responsibilities, no harassing duties, that make them prematurely old, not so much with labor as anxiety, then the condition of the slave in the Southern States of the American Union is superior to that of the free laborer in Europe."

Now this is a distinct admission that the physical condition of our slaves is better than that of European laborers. But until physical necessities are supplied, there can be no moral or intellectual enjoyment.

The negro's happiness is all intellectual. He is neither epicure, glutton, nor drunkard, for, though comfortably and sufficiently furnished, he has no opportunity for luxurious sensual enjoyment. We venture to say, the author did not see a half-dozen fat, or a half-dozen lean negroes in America. They do not live to eat and drink like many white men. Their pleasures are social, and social enjoyment is all intellectual. They are not, 'tis true, so fastidious in their tastes as a poet or philosopher, and this multiplies their pleasures and enhances their happiness. Their "freedom from care," the doctor thinks, an awful curse; we consider it the greatest blessing. He says: "To suffer, and to elevate ourselves by suffering, is our great privilege as human beings." But suppose, as with European laborers, the *suffering* depresses us? The Doctor often asserts that there is more of liberty in England than in any other country under the sun. So much the worse for England; for it is the right of the strong to oppress the weak, of the property-holder to starve, work to death, or expel the laborer—as caprice or self-interest may dictate. We are saved the trouble of analyzing, detecting, and exposing this boasted *English* liberty, this right of the few to oppress the many, for our author has done all this for us with a master's hand. Read, study attentively what he writes; then say, if this be the very

best specimen of free society, is not this modern experiment (in Europe) a cruel and a wicked *failure*?

If so, our doctrine, that "slave society is the normal, natural, and rightful form of society," is true. *Quod erat demonstrandum!* Here are our proofs; here, the passages relied on:

"Traditionally, or poetically, or telescopically, we are told that in England the cottages of this class peep out from the verdure of the land; that roses blossom at their doors; that the ivy and the honeysuckle clamber over their walls; that the swallow builds in their thatch; that the lark and the nightingale, the blackbird and the thrush, make music for them; that the honest house-dog watches at the gate; and that their children sport beneath the lofty elms, or make garlands in the fields of the butter-cups and the daisies. They are said to be the wealth and boast of the nation. Out of their ranks, we are told, is recruited the vigor of the generations. They are a bold and independent race. Honesty is their stay. Health is their portion. A sufficiency their reward. All this is very fine, but unluckily it is not true. Actually, or microscopically considered, what are the peasantry of England? Enter one of their cottages, and look around, and all the glory and poetry disappears. The peasant is found to be a man of many sorrows. He toils for an insufficiency. He has not wherewithal to cover himself in comfort from the inclemency of the weather. His cottage is ill-furnished and dirty, and has no convenient separation of apartments for the decencies of a family. A dung heap and a cesspool fester at his door. His intellectual life is as degraded as his physical. If he reads at all, which is very doubtful, he has read the Bible, but whether with understanding, or without it, it is hard to say. He goes to church, because his fathers went before him, and because men better dressed than himself have set him the example, and urged upon him the duty of going. He is told when he gets there that he is a miserable wretch; that, by the inscrutable decree of Providence, the many must ever be the hewers of wood and drawers of water, and that he is born into that state, and must live in it. He is warned to respect those above him, and to be contented with his lot. If he be a true man, he learns, after his own humble and dejected fashion, that there may be some chance for him in heaven, if not on earth. If he be not a true man, if he have no spiritual life in him, if he have no hope for the future, he becomes reckless and brutal, seeking for animal enjoyment wherever he can find it, and seizing eagerly the coarse pleasures and excitements of the day, lest death and annihilation should come upon him, before he has enjoyed anything at the expense of anybody. His wife is prematurely old with bearing many children and many woes. She labors hard and has no rest. Her children toil before their bones have acquired consistency, and the combined labor of the family, provided they could procure work for the whole year, might maintain them in coarse food indifferently well, and supply them indifferently with coarse raiment. But they cannot procure work all the year round, and the moderate sufficiency for six months so dearly bought, is painfully beaten and hammered out into an insufficiency for twelve. When decrepitude, or old age—and the first often precedes the second—comes upon the peasant and his wife, they have no resource but the poor rate. They are a broken spirited, and utterly worn down couple, and be come a burden to the community. If a young, vigorous man of this class wished to possess for himself a portion of his mother earth, he must expatriate himself. At home, though no serf *de jure*, he is a serf *de facto*. The land is so valuable as to shut utterly against him the slightest chance of his ever obtaining one yard of it to call his own." . . . . "As much trash has been spoken of the Scottish as of the English peasant. It is said, that though he live in a cold and wet, it is not an unhealthy climate. We are told that the grandeur and glories of nature surround him; that the everlasting hills rear their magnificent peaks on his

horizon ; that fresh water lakes of extreme beauty are imbedded among his hills and that salt water lochs wander far into the land from the sea, presenting not only the sublimity and splendor of scenery to his eyes, but wealth for his wants, if he will but labor to search for it. We are told, moreover, that although the hills are bleak and bare, the glens and straths are green, and capable of cultivation. Even if the country be deficient in coal and wood, nature is so bountiful that the peasant need not perish from the inclemency of the climate, inasmuch as great tracts of moorland are spread on every hand, affording him an inexhaustible supply of fuel. But how does the so-called fortunate peasant live ! What has civilization done for him ! What has he done for himself ! The answer should be that he has done nothing for himself ; that he is but half-civilized ; that he is worse off than his forefathers ; that he lives in a miserable wigwam, built of unshapely stones gathered from the debris of the mountains, or lying loose on the uncultivated soil ; that the interstices between them are rudely plastered with mud, that he has very often no windows to his hut, and if there be a window, a piece of paper commonly serves the place of a pane of glass. When there is a chimney, a somewhat rare case, an old tub, without top or bottom, stuck amid the rotten heather of the roof, answers for a chimney-pot. The door is low, and he has to stoop before he can enter it. He gathers his fuel from the peat moss, a privilege accorded to him for the labor of a certain number of days upon the farm of which the moorland forms a portion. The smoke from the peat fire fills his wigwam, and exudes from the door. The floor is of earth, and damp, and the cow which he keeps shares the shelter of his roof. He has a little patch of ground, reclaimed perhaps from the moorland, for which he pays a considerable rent in labor, if not in money, and on this patch of ground he grows potatoes. He has little or no skill in agriculture, beyond the skill necessary to plant his potatoes, but does as he is bid in a clumsy way, when bid to work for other people. Oatmeal porridge, on which his ancestors grew strong, is a rare luxury with him. The easily raised and less nutritious potatoe is cheaper, and supplies its place. If his landlord, or his landlord's agent, will permit him, he marries upon his potatoes. If the landlord does not wish that he should marry, for fear of an increase of the population, inconvenient always to landlords, who have not the skill, the enterprise, or the capital, to employ them, he either dispenses with the ceremonial part of the business, or emigrates to Glasgow, or some other great town, and trusts to Providence to live *somehow* and *somewhere*.

"If he remains on his potato patch, and marries by consent, he has a large family, for, by a provision of nature, now beginning to be understood by political economists, each pair of living beings, threatened with extinction, by insufficiency of nourishment, become prolific in proportion to the imminency of the danger. He is idle and dirty in his habits, and his children are like him. If he can now and then get a little oatmeal cake and herring, in addition to his potatoes, a little milk for his children, a pinch of snuff now and then, and much fiery whiskey for himself, he envies no man in existence, except, perhaps, the laird and the minister. All around his wigwam are large tracts of country, capable of cultivation, if capable people were allowed the task of clearing, draining, and manuring it, and if the owners of these tracts had the energy and capital to exercise the duties of proprietorship. Undrained and untilled, these lands, if not valuable for raising corn and men, are admirable for raising sheep and preserving grouse. There is little or no expenditure of capital for these purposes, by the landlords. The hill-sides afford excellent pasturage, and as sheep and black cattle can be herded in such a country, at a little expense of men and money, the land is let out in large farms for this purpose, and at very heavy rentals. Additional rentals are procured for the right of grouse-shooting. None of the mutton, none of the beef, none of the grouse or other game, finds its way to the larder of the peasant, unless he steals it, which he sometimes does taking his chance of the penalty. When peasants grow too numerous for a sheep and cattle feeding country, for the confines of a deer forest, or for the due cultivation of that more valuable two-legged animal, the grouse, the less valuable two-legged

*animal—man—is cleared out. The superabundant and useless people are warned to depart in a certain period. If they neglect the warning, their wigwams are pulled down over their heads, and they are left to the moorland and the hill-sides, to enjoy an equality of shelter with the moor fowl or the sheep. [REVIEWER: Far worse than the African slave trade! Better sell them, as Oliver Cromwell did his Scotch prisoners, to the colonies.]*

"The Celtic Irish peasant, when he is at home, leads much the same kind of life, except that he is not quite so closely elbowed as the Highlander is, by the grouse and the deer. He is not the patient ass that browses upon the thistle, and takes insults from all comers. Though he, too, lives in a wigwam, and *shares it with a pig*; the priest comforts him, when no one else takes the trouble. When a war breaks out among the nations, this class of men, partly from the misery of their daily fare and the wretchedness of their daily attire; partly from the ignorance that accompanies extreme poverty, and partly from a barbarian love of finery, press, or are pressed into the legions of battle, and die in scarlet coats and feathered caps, for the supposed good of their country. If war does not require him, and he has neither energy to emigrate nor friends to supply him with the means of paying his passage across the Atlantic, he comes over to England in the harvesting time, and gains a few pounds, to help him to live through the winter. Some of his good friends, who wish to try experiments at his expense, settle him on the coast, and lend him a boat, and buy him nets, and tell him to fish in the sea, and not to allow the Danes and Norwegians to come down hundreds of miles, and take away the wealth that the great deep affords. No doubt the man ought to fish, but he does not. The change is disagreeable to the Celt. He does not like continuous hard work. A potato diet has weakened his energies. He has no fancy for the sea. He loves the old way. Could he be allowed to fish in the rivers, he would be willing enough; but fresh water fish are the property of the landlord, reserved for aristocratic and not plebeian sport and profit. Salt-sea fishing is another matter. There is no landlord right upon the ocean. The great deep is free. There is no possibility of deriving any rent from its billows: but free as it is, the peasant from the interior can make no use of it. He not only detests sea-work, but he has no skill in the management of boats or nets. He has, in fact, no liking for or knowledge of the business, in any shape or degree. . . . He prefers to fold his arms in his potato ground, and trusts in Providence for the better days which never come to those who do not make them. His children swarm half naked about him, and when the potatoes fail, get a miserable subsistence by gathering limpets from the rocks, or plucking sea-weed to boil into a jelly."

### ART. III.—FREE NEGROES IN HAYTI.

"Be assured that no person living, wishes more sincerely than I do, to see a complete refutation of the doubts I have myself entertained, and expressed, on the grade of understanding allotted to them [the negroes], and to find, that in this respect, they are on a par with ourselves. . . .

"*St. Domingo will, in time, throw light upon the question.*"

*Correspondence of Thos. Jefferson, 1809, vol. v., pp. 429, 476.*

NEARLY two generations of men have passed away since Jefferson wrote the above words. During that period of half a century, the civilized world has made a progress in commerce and the useful arts and sciences, unequalled in the whole of any two previous centuries. The application of steam as a motive power, the introduction of railways, of river and ocean

steamers, the invention of the telegraph and cotton gin, the improvement in implements of warfare, ship-building, and in short of every species of mechanism, from reaping and sewing machines up to Great Eastern steamships, are all prominent instances of the activity of mind and development of civilization of the last half century. Besides this more positive utilitarian advancement, our knowledge of geology, chemistry, and astronomy, has been greatly increased; voyages of discovery into the glacial regions of both poles, and into the burning sands of the African continent, have been pushed with undaunted vigor and intrepidity, to a greater distance than ever before accomplished. Ethnology, a study almost neglected fifty years since, has been elevated to the dignity of a science, and now occupies the time and labors of the most learned men, and by its aid, together with the assistance of the stone books of Egypt and Nineveh, our archeologists are beginning to write the history of the world backward; and amid all this rapid material and mental progress the interests of philanthropy and religion have not been neglected; never has greater attention been paid to the wants of the poor and afflicted, to the education of the ignorant, or the amelioration of the condition of the barbarous; free hospitals, free schools, and free asylums, abound to a greater or less extent in all civilized countries; our prison discipline is reformed, our insane asylums are no longer menageries of wild beasts, and our schools are open to poor as well as rich; the gospel has literally been preached to all nations, and missionaries have been sent to the ends of the earth, who, if they do not excel in zeal the self-denying Spanish and Portuguese Catholics who endeavored to convert the world in the sixteenth century, may be acknowledged at least to carry with them a higher civilization. Such being the progress of the most enlightened nations during the first half of our century, it may be truly said that there has never been a better opportunity for uncivilized nations to break the bonds of ignorance, sloth, and degradation; the blessings of civilization have literally overflowed the dark places of the earth, so that it has been almost impossible for them to resist being benefited.

No country has been more favorably situated for receiving these blessings than the Queen of the Antilles. Her independence, achieved early in the present century, every enemy banished, or exterminated from her soil, placed in the very focus of civilization, midway between the two greatest nations

of the earth, the cynosure of tens of thousands of friendly eyes, the object of Christendom's prayers, the spot of all others on earth that could command the ready aid of philanthropists of every nation, possessing a soil of unbounded fertility, a corps of laborers well instructed in the culture of those articles which ever return most remunerative prices, and a climate better adapted to the constitution of its inhabitants than any other under the sun—with all these advantages, it was to be expected that the empire of Hayti would soon assume an important rank in the family of nations, or at least occupy a respectable position as a land of industrious, moral, and thriving men.

And, indeed, such were the expectations of the friends of the negro race. Let them be but once free, remove the depressing shackles of slavery, unbind their arms, said they, and soon we shall see a race fully equal to the whites; agriculture will progress, commerce be fostered, and the cause of education and religion be advanced; Euclids were to spring from the mountains, Æsops and Dumas' were to write verses and romances in the valleys, and the golden shores of the Artibonite were to witness a pastoral peace and happiness, unequaled in the happy valley of Amhara, or in the famous Utopia of the Jesuits, on the banks of the Panara!

How have these expectations been fulfilled? What has been the result of this fifty years' trial under circumstances the most favorable that could be imagined?

Let us honestly search an answer to these questions.

In 1789, the island of Hayti (then St. Domingo), was the brightest jewel in the French crown. At that period the western portion or only about one third of the whole island, was all that belonged to France, and yet, such was the richness of its soil, that this little tract of land comprised, with its abundant products, two thirds of the exterior commerce of France.\* Such was the activity of its trade that more than sixteen hundred vessels, of various sizes, entered its ports in a single year.† The island then possessed 793 sugar plantations, 735 cotton plantations, more than three thousand coffee plantations, and as many more devoted to the cultivation of indigo; horses, mules, oxen, and other cattle, were abundant; the finest roads connected its different ports and cities, and its princely plant-

\* *Les Colonies étrangères, et Haiti*, par VICTOR SCHÉLCHER, p. 88.

† Macgregor, adopting tables prepared by order of the French Government, makes the number of vessels entered in 1789, seventeen hundred. See *Progress of America*. Schélicher states the number to be 1,578, citing the authority of Col. Malenfant.

ers lived in a style of luxury and magnificence rarely equalled in that day, and now almost unknown throughout the Antilles. Some idea of its trade may be formed by a glance at its leading exports, which were of

Clayed Sugar.....	47,516,531 lbs.
Muscovado Sugar.....	93,573,300 "
Coffee.....	76,835,219 "
Cotton.....	7,004,274 "
Indigo*.....	758,628 "

This state of prosperity was suddenly interrupted by the French revolution. By the exertions of the abolitionists of France (*les amis des noirs*), a feud was commenced between the whites and mulattoes of St. Domingo, which soon extended to the blacks, and ended in the open revolt of all the slaves in the island. Most persons are familiar with the history of the bloody massacres which occurred between 1791 and 1804, during which year the independence of Hayti was proclaimed. The white race, being more than thirty thousand persons, were completely exterminated, as well as large numbers of the mulattoes. In the first two months of the insurrection it is estimated that the negroes had massacred two thousand whites, and destroyed more than a thousand coffee, sugar, cotton, and indigo plantations, while ten thousand of their number were supposed to have perished in the field, and hundreds more by the hands of the executioner. In short, it is reckoned that between 1791 and 1804, one hundred and fifty thousand persons perished in this bloody contest of races. Nevertheless, in the latter year, the island was fully in possession of the negroes, its independence acknowledged, and a negro emperor seated on its throne, so that it might reasonably have been expected that prosperity and happiness would soon be restored, and the industry of the country be developed. The futility of these expectations cannot be better illustrated than by an examination of the following table, showing the exports from the island, of the three leading articles of produce, from the year 1789 to 1841.† The decline in the produce of sugar is remarkable, and may be accounted for from the fact that its cultivation requires much more labor than is necessary for the raising of coffee; and we are told by M. Schœlcher that sugar is now actually *imported* into the island.

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\* Macgregor.

† Macgregor. *Progress, &c.*

## EXPORTS FROM HAYTI, 1789 TO 1841.

Year.	Clayed Sugar. lbs.	Muscovado Sugar. lbs.	Cotton, lbs.	Coffee, lbs.
1789.....	47,516,531	93,573,300	7,004,274	76,835,219
1801.....	16,540	18,518,572	2,480,340	43,420,470
1818.....	198	5,443,567	474,118	26,065,200
1819.....	157	3,790,143	216,103	29,240,919
1820.....	2,787	2,514,502	346,839	35,137,759
1821.....	....	600,934	820,563	29,925,951
1822.....	....	200,454	592,368	24,235,372
1823.....	....	14,920	332,266	33,802,837
1824.....	....	5,106	1,028,045	44,269,084
1825.....	....	2,020	815,697	36,034,300
1826.....	....	32,864	629,972	32,189,784
1835.....	....	1,097	....	48,352,371
1836.....	....	16,199	....	37,662,674
1837.....	....	....	....	30,845,400
1840.....	....	741	922,575	46,126,272
1841.....	....	1,363	1,501,454	34,114,717

Thus the island of the western world which first produced sugar, and which, during a period of three centuries, gradually increased its export of that article until it reached one hundred and fifty millions of pounds, immediately on falling into the hands of negro masters, neglects almost entirely its production, so that, at the end of fifty years, four hundred and fifty thousand stout negroes, who love sugar, as all negroes do, are obliged to import it for their own consumption—an unparalleled example of indolence!

The production of coffee has fallen off more than one half, and yet the raising of coffee requires hardly any labor, and that of the lightest kind. The mountain sides, says Mr. McKenzie, are covered with coffee trees of spontaneous growth, which only need clearing to make them most productive, and at least two thirds of the coffee cultivated, he was informed, was lost for want of labor.\* But not only is the cultivation of this article neglected, but what is gathered is badly prepared. When properly cleaned and separated, the coffee of Hayti has always been considered superior to any in the West Indies, but now it is so badly prepared that it is in but little repute in the European markets; and these same remarks are applicable to Haytian cotton, cocoa, and logwood.†

Within the memory of many men now living, this little section of the island now under consideration, exported *forty times*

\* *Notes on Hayti*, by Charles McKenzie, Esq., late H. B. M. consul, in Hayti, vol. i., p. 96.

† Macgregor. *Progress*, &c., vol. i., p. 1200.

as much cotton as the United States, but in less than half a century, say in the year 1841, the United States exported more than *five hundred times* as much as Hayti! A wonderful commentary on the effects of industry.\*

But it will be said, this rapid increase in the United States is the fruit of slavery. True; but what are the fruits of this nominal freedom enjoyed by the negroes of Hayti? Setting aside altogether the destruction of the industry of the island, there is not one single particular in which the negro slaves of the United States have not the advantage over the blacks of Hayti. The fruits of freedom in that island, since its independence, in 1804, are *revolutions, massacres, misrule, insecurity, irreligion, ignorance, immorality, indolence, neglect of agriculture*, and, indeed, an actual renewal of slavery under another shape.

We do not attach too much importance to the sudden decline of commerce and exportation in the island; that was to be expected to a certain extent; but when we consider the wealth that a half million of free laborers do produce in other countries, and what these very men have produced in their own, and compare it with the almost total cessation of exports as shown by the table, we are right in supposing, that a people exhibiting such melancholy results during a generation and a half of men, are either turning their attention to some extraordinary development of internal improvements, or else are relapsing into barbarism. It will not do to say that they are settling down quietly with their families on their own small farms, and industriously enjoying lives of freedom and comfort—first, because we know, theoretically and by experience, that a people living in a warm climate, where clothing may almost be dispensed with, and upon a fertile soil where the fruits of the earth spring forth spontaneously, *cannot retain their civilization under such circumstances*, if they have been once civilized, nor emerge from barbarism, if that were their condition—and secondly, because we have the concurrent testimony of travellers to prove that the Haytians are actually doing what a knowledge of their climate, soil, exports, and finances, convinces us that they must be doing—viz., relapsing into their former savage state.

It is only lately that the world is becoming fully aware of the importance of commerce and industry, in not only eleva-

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\* In 1791 the United States exported only 169,316 lbs. of cotton.—McCulloch.

ting and civilizing savages, but in developing the intellect of the most enlightened nations. Formerly we were disposed, as, indeed, many now are, to sneer at all *material* progress; it was beneath the dignity of intellectual beings, and even the missionaries, until very recently, have not only viewed commerce and trade with a jealous eye, but have often endeavored to entirely exclude their influence from the field of their operations. These ideas are now changed, although the narrow and jealous policy that hedged nations in fifty years since, is still persevered in by many; but it is opposed to the spirit of the age.

The Livingstones of Africa and the Bishop Selavyns of New-Zealand, as well as some other missionaries of less note, are introducing a new style of thought into the religious world, in respect of savages. They now see that religion, and *industry* and *commerce*, must go hand in hand, or but little progress can be made in improving the social and moral condition of savages, and this, no doubt, is the secret of the great success of the Moravians, that they have long put in practice, what mankind generally are but just beginning to recognize in theory, viz., the importance of material, in developing intellectual and religious progress. We make this digression and dwell upon the consideration of this subject, because it is a common argument with the *soi-disant* friends of the negro, that the decline of commerce and trade in Hayti is no proof of the retrograde movement of its population in intellect, industry, and morals. We shall now show that what theory and experience teach facts confirm; and that the decline of commerce and industry has been succeeded by the neglect of education and religion, and by the spread of immorality and vice.

And first, as to education: Mr. Schœlcher, an ardent French abolitionist, and therefore not likely to make things worse than they were, was in Hayti, in 1841, thirty-seven years after the blacks had declared themselves capable of self-government, and, from his account, it would appear that they not only believe that they can rule themselves like other men, but that they can do so even without instruction. He says there are only ten public schools in the whole island, and as each of these schools has only one master, they cannot certainly contain, one with another, more than one hundred scholars each. Here, then, we behold at most, only a thousand children taught to read and write, out of a population of

seven hundred thousand souls! The testimony of Mr. Candler, in 1842, is of similar import. Speaking of Port au Prince, the capital, he tells us that the population is twenty-three thousand, of whom about four thousand are mulattoes, and that these latter monopolize what little education is to be had. There are only eight hundred and eighty children supposed to attend the different schools in that city, but in the one visited by Mr. Candler, and marked in the list given by him as containing eighty scholars, there were only half that number present.

"We examined the class," Mr. Candler remarks, "and heard some of the boys recite, but found, on the whole, very little to approve of."\* "The government," continues that gentleman, "has provided no schools for boys, except in the larger towns, and for girls nowhere, while, in the country, where at least seven eighths of the population are to be found, there is as much ignorance as in the days of slavery. In 1841, the duty on books was twenty-five per cent., *ad valorem*."†

"It is unfortunately too true," writes Mr. Harvey, of Queen's College, Cambridge, "that the Haytians, in respect of education, remain in nearly the same state as they were, when emancipated from slavery. The mass of the population approach, as nearly as possible, to the primitive state. I have heard a sergeant unable to count eighteen, express that number by three times six."‡ In 1838, according to the budget for that year, while 1,639,297 gourdes (or Haytian dollars) were appropriated by government to keep forty thousand men under arms, only 15,816 gourdes were spent upon the education of seven hundred thousand souls plunged in a night of ignorance!|| All this is the more disgraceful, because occurring during the administration of President Boyer, who was educated in France, and ought, therefore, to have appreciated the value of instruction.

But low as is the state of education in the island, the condition of the people, in respect of religion, is still more deplorable. "The Haytians," writes Mr. Harvey, "were utterly destitute of the means of moral instruction. Though the Catholic faith was professedly the religion of the country (it being thought necessary, for the sake of appearance, to have some form of religious belief), yet few of the Romish clergy

\* Notices of Hayti, by John Candler, pp. 74-76.

† Sketches of Hayti, by W. W. Harvey, p. 207.

‡ Ibid., pp. 17, 42, and 55.

|| Schœlcher, p. 280.

were to be found in Hayti, and during a part of Christophe's reign, a Spanish priest whom he had invited to the island, was the *sole ecclesiastic in his dominions*. This man, also, like his patron, was an infidel, and so regardless was he of consistency of conduct, and so confirmed in his unbelief, that he was not ashamed to avow it openly.\* The description of Christophe and his court, as given by the gentleman just cited, was certainly not calculated to produce in the minds of the people much respect for religion. "Vain," he says, "of their limited acquirements, and resolved on being distinguished from the superstitious vulgar, they held all religions in sovereign contempt, and despised Christianity, especially as one of the many systems of priestcraft by which mankind has been deluded and enslaved. Impatient of all restraint, and rejecting the distinctions of virtue and vice, as though imaginary, they gave free scope to their base passions, and would suffer no obstacle to oppose their indulgence. One of the barons who filled an important office in the state, was known to have no less than six women in keeping, and many of the dukes and counts were equally abandoned."

The clergy, with a few exceptions, are described by all travellers as being excessively immoral. Many of them, says Mr. Candler, are low-bred Corsicans, notorious for habits of debauchery. Bishop England, who visited the island in 1832, found it in a "shocking state." Two of the priests in the presbytery of Port au Prince had been galley-slaves released from bondage. The immorality and debauchery of others had become so notorious that the council of notables took up the matter, and when the priests, as *spiritual* persons, refused to answer the interrogatories of a lay tribunal, General Boyer, to cut the matter short, banished them from the country.† But, in spite of these peremptory measures, the clergy do not seem to have improved in character. Mr. Schœlcher says that the curates live openly with one or two women, and that, far from instructing the people, they encourage their foolish superstitions. One receives ten dollars for prayers designed to produce rain, which a laborer desires for his crops; another, five dollars for exorcising an old woman, &c. In this, and other objectionable ways, they gain large sums of money; besides which, they make something by their rivalry with the makers of *grisgris*, philtres, charms, and other such-like articles.‡

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\* Harvey, p. 307.

† Candler, p. 101.

‡ Schœlcher, pp. 293, 295.

The Rev. S. W. Hanna heard from a respectable authority the same story of priestly Mormonism.\*

In Gonaires, a town of 5,000 inhabitants, at the time of Mr. Candler's visit, there was no public worship of any kind, and he sums up his opinion of the religious condition of the island in the following words: "Satan, the *grand deceiver*, wears in this land of moral darkness a fourfold face—*infidelity, ignorance, heathen superstition, and a religion* (as taught by many of their priests) *of folly and lies*. One or other of these qualities may be said to frown in every quarter."†

It appears that some charitable persons in England, pitying the destitute condition of the people, consigned, a long time since, twenty-six cases of Testaments, printed in French and English, to the island: they were, however, seized by President Boyer, and sold by auction at Port au Prince, where they were bought by a merchant for only *two-and-a-half pence* per copy, and shipped away from the island.‡

Such, then, being the condition of the people in respect of education, and of the clergy in respect of religion, the reader will not be surprised to learn that indolence and ignorance, with consequent immorality, were universally prevalent. "Indolence and inactivity are the characteristics of the country," says Mr. McKenzie; there is a general air of listlessness, which may be aptly described as "a death-like languor, which is not repose," pervading all classes. Men and women may be seen lounging under canvas at all hours of the day, chairs are provided for the sentries, and even the dogs and pigs wander about with an apathy unseen elsewhere.§

The men, says Mr. Candler, pass much of their time in sauntering, idling, talking, and playing games of chance;|| while the few young females that live on plantations seldom assist in any labor whatever, but live in a constant state of idleness and debauchery. This is tolerated by the soldiery and military police, whose licentiousness is gratified by this means.¶

In the plain of Cayes, which, in 1789, according to Moreau St. Mery, was one of the finest and most flourishing in the island, it was, at the time of Mr. McKenzie's visit, almost impossible to procure laborers: the very little field labor effected was generally performed by elderly people, principally

\* See Notes of a Visit to Some Parts of Hayti, by Rev. S. W. Hanna, p. 65.

† Candler, p. 43.

‡ Ibid., p. 64.

§ Notes on Hayti, vol. I., pp. 30, 32.

|| Candler, p. 49.

¶ McKenzie, p. 101.

old Guinea negroes; no measures of the government could induce the creoles to labor, or depart from their habitual licentiousness and vagrancy. The whole body of proprietors constantly lamented the total incapacity of the government to enforce labor.\* Nor did this unwillingness to work arise from want of incentives, but from sheer laziness. "In spite of the inducements of better wages than were usually paid," says the writer just quoted, "and of punctual payment every Saturday, I could rarely, if ever, get the same set of people to work two weeks continuously. I found that the produce of one week's exertions, if they could be called so, enabled the laborer to enjoy for a considerable period his chief luxury, rum; and the necessaries of life are to be procured for a mere trifle, or with very little effort."†

This determined spirit of idleness is not only rapidly ruining the negro, but is also destroying the island; and the great misfortune is, that it is progressive, as the reader may see by referring again to the table we have given, and by a perusal of some further facts corroborative thereof. For instance, Mr. Towning, a resident of the island, informed the Rev. Mr. Hanna that, during a short period immediately succeeding their emancipation, the negroes were active and industrious, and labor could easily be obtained on the sugar estates, but that the *rising generation*, not being brought up to habits of industry, were a *lazy, idle set*.‡ A very important fact, this, and showing that the negroes, while in slavery, had begun to acquire habits of industry: but now the abandoned estates to be seen in all parts of the island afford ample proofs that not only the negro himself, but the lands he occupies, are reverting to barbarism. Thus here, as wherever this race is found in a state of freedom, a blight and curse seem to follow. Attila boasted that the grass withered under the hoofs of his horse, and never grew again; so decay and ruin follow the track of the free negro, in whatever part of the world he plants his foot.

We translate from the French of Mr. Schœlcher—the W. L. Garrison of France—a few sentences recording his painful impressions of the changes which have taken place in this island under the blighting heel of the free negro:

"There is something fearful," he observes, "especially for the abolitionist, in the first step one makes upon the soil of Hayti. When you approach, by the Cape, this colony, once so powerful, the question arises, 'Where is the city of

\* McKenzie, vol. I., p. 100.

† Ibid., vol. I., p. 37.

‡ Hanna, p. 130.

which colonial history has spoken so much, and which was called the Paris of the Antilles? You fancy that you are entering a place suffering from a long siege. The pavements are broken, removed, and destroyed; the spacious streets are deserted; there exist the silence and inanition which follow great public disasters, and only the clothing stretched upon the ground to dry in the sun, announces that the inhabitants are not fled, as at the approach of a plague. Hardly will the traveller meet with a person of whom he can inquire his way. The princely mansions, three stories high, and built of stone in a style surpassing that found in any other island in the Archipelago, unprotected from the weather, are falling to decay, and are no longer occupied, except by vigorous trees, whose green branches pierce through the dismantled windows, whence are falling the magnificently-worked iron balconies which adorned them. No one here is sufficiently rich even to preserve these vast ruins; and it is only by penetrating the interior that you may perceive, leaning against the old wall, a hut where a miserable family dwells, and plants bananas in spots which served as vestibules to the lordly planters.

"To day Hayti contributes to commerce a little coffee, a little cotton, a little tobacco, and a few other trifles; and yet this island is perhaps the point of the globe to which Providence has been more bountiful than any other. It abounds in riches of every description. Its soil, of an inexhaustible fertility, besides sugar-cane, coffee, cotton, tobacco, and cocoa, produces the spices of India, all the fruits of America, and almost all those of Europe; its forests contain timber for building, for veneering, and for dying; and its mahogany, which is superior to that of any other country, is so abundant that the inhabitants use it for firewood. Many of its rivers roll golden sands along their beds; it contains mines of copper, of iron, of coal, and also, it is said, of quicksilver; it has mountains of sulphur, and quarries of marble, of porphyry, and of alabaster; it possesses jasper, agates, fossils, crystals, and argillaceous soils; its mineral kingdom is not less immensely wealthy than its vegetable; birds of brilliant plumage and sweet song are not wanting, nor are game and the honey-bee. In short, this luxuriant isle is a promised land, a paradise on earth."

It might be self-supporting, and yet, like an infant in the cradle, it requires constant aid. It is tributary to the whole world for articles of the first necessity. Our ancient St. Domingo, which exported 400,000,000 lbs. sugar, does not now make enough for the wants of its invalids; and, to speak truly, the only labor that flourishes on the island is the manufacture of rum!

Even the superb roads and highways of St. Domingo no longer exist. "From the Cape to Gonaires, from Port au Prince to Jacmel, all the routes I travelled," continues this writer, "are nothing more than paths almost impracticable, and often even dangerous. The bridges over the rivers are in such a bad state that it is necessary to dismount from your horse in order to cross them. Horses and asses are at present the only means of transport in Hayti."\*

Thus, while the civilized world around them are building railways, and other facilities of travel, the Haytians are even

\* Col. Etr. et Haiti, pp. 172, 270, 272, and 322.

"Such was the want of facilities of communication over the principal routes of the island, that the British consul tells us that the dispatches landed from the English steamer at Jacmel were on one occasion twenty days on the road before reaching him at Port au Prince. The distance is only seventy miles."—Mackenzie, vol. I., p. 125.

giving up common carriages, and wagons, and high roads, and going back to horses and asses, and footpaths through the wilderness, such as their fathers of old and their brothers of to-day use in Africa !

But idleness appears to constitute, according to the ideas of the Haytians, the perfect gentleman ; and the philosophical reflections of Dr. Franklin's negro servant, when visiting England with his master, seem to embody the notions of the whole negro race upon the subject of industry. That sable gentleman, when travelling with the Doctor through the manufacturing districts, was very much astonished at the labor and activity which everywhere prevailed, and finally expressed his ideas upon the subject in the following language :

" Every ting, massa, *work* in dis country : water *work* ; wind *work* ; fire *work* ; dog *work* ; man *work* ; bullock *work* ; horse *work* ; ass *work* ; ebery ting *work* here, but de hog ; he eat, he drink, he sleep, he do noting all day ; he walk about like a *gentleman* !"

As a natural consequence of this incorrigible laziness, ignorance, and want of religious instruction, the most shocking immorality and degradation prevail throughout the island. "Marriage," says Mr. Schœlcher, "is almost the exception." ("Le mariage est presque une exception en Haiti.") "Many of the Haytian mothers," remarks Mr. Candler, "appear utterly dead to all moral considerations, and leave their children to grow up as they please, the victims of wayward passion and of conduct without restraint."\*

The Rev. Mr. Hanna, who lived for some time in Jamaica, says that "it is customary to talk of the profligacy and irreligion of Jamaica ; unquestionably Jamaica is bad, but this place is much worse, and with this unhappy difference, that there is no prospect of a change for the better."†

"Among the lower orders," remarks a writer in the *Colonial Review*, "the intercourse between the sexes is almost promiscuous : not one scarcely out of a hundred knows anything about marriage. For a man to have as many women as he can procure, is tolerated by law and sanctioned by established custom. To these he may adhere if he thinks proper, but should he spend his time with others, he has little consciousness of turpitude, and knows nothing of responsibility."‡

The mode of life of the peasantry is such as might be expected. "The huts of the poor are nothing more than slave

\* Notices, &c., p. 55.

† Colonial Review, vol. xix., p. 343.

‡ Notes of a Visit, &c., p. 29.

cabins. Some branches of trees, interwoven together and plastered with mud, often leaving the interior exposed to the weather, compose dwellings inferior to those of the Indians; they are without furniture, without household utensils, without chairs, with bamboos for water-pitchers, and calabashes for glasses and plates. . . . The negroes have become entirely ignorant of the necessities of life, or go without them without the slightest regret; they live upon a little water and five or six bananas, a species of food for which they have such a predilection, that, upon learning the death of some one, they say, in their peculiar language, 'Pauvre diable, le quitté bananes!' (Poor devil, he'll get no more bananas!)"\*

Mr. Candler's description of the houses is a little more favorable, for he says, that, though poorly furnished, they were decent; in another place, however, speaking of the principal city, Port au Prince, he says it is "perhaps the filthiest capital in the world."† Again he says, "The peasantry, through the prevalence of heathenism and ignorance, have little emulation and few wants, and grow up contented with common fare, coarse clothing, and enjoyments of a mere animal nature."‡

The abolitionist authority frequently cited, and who has always been distinguished in France as an ardent friend of the negro, thus sums up his views of the complete state of degradation to which the negroes have fallen since that (*to them*) elevating power, *slavery*, has been removed.¶ "The Haytians," he says, "are a people badly clothed, guarded by soldiers in rags, living with perfect indifference in houses tumbled to ruins, and disputing the possession of filthy streets with horses, asses, hogs, and chickens, who seek food in cities without police. The people have fallen almost into a complete torpor. They are no longer conscious of the ruin of their cities and the misery of their firesides. They do not suspect that they are wanting everything. I have seen their senators dwelling in straw houses, their instructors and deputies walking the streets with their coats worn out at the elbows. In a word, everybody suffers from a sort of general atomy, *which from material, passes, by an intimate connection, to spiritual things.*"§

By this great variety of indisputable evidence, we think that the utter prostration and degradation of the island are

\* Schœlcher, p. 265.

† Candler, pp. 69, 123.

‡ Ibid., p. 38.

¶ There is no doubt that, though much cruelty was practised on the negroes by their French masters in St. Domingo, the state of slavery, even there, was improving the degraded and debased character natural to the black race, and that the sum of physical suffering was not a tithe of what they have endured since.

§ Schœlcher, p. 180.

- clearly proven; but it is necessary to remark, in respect of the authorities we have cited, that it has been urged against some of them that their statements are colored with prejudice, and this charge has been particularly made against her majesty's consul, Mr. McKenzie. There is certainly not the slightest ground for this accusation, for there is scarcely any statement made by that gentleman in 1827, which is not confirmed by Mr. Schœleher in 1841. Further, the Rev. Mr. Hanna says: "I have seen Mr. McKenzie's work on Hayti. As far as I can compare the facts he relates with what I daily witness, his statements are true and cannot be denied." Mr. Hanna then goes on to state that Mr. McKenzie has omitted much that might be said in favor of the people and country, and that herein consists his tacit misrepresentation. But the truth is, Mr. Hanna's own notes of travel in the island, considering the narrow limits of his observations, convey fully as bad an impression of its fallen state as Mr. McKenzie's do: indeed, we do not know which of the several narratives we have cited gives the most painful idea of the condition of the people. Our authorities are French, English, and American, official and unofficial, clergymen and laymen, avowed abolitionists and otherwise, and yet with this variety of nationality, education, position, and opinion, we do not know of a party of travellers who more nearly agree in their views and observations of the actual state of men and things in any given country, than do these gentlemen upon the condition of Hayti, and their accounts are fully confirmed by the dry, unreasoning figures of the customhouse.

Having then beheld the first fruits of freedom of body, in those who do not possess freedom of soul, viz., material decline, and mental, physical, and moral degradation, we have now to notice the next state of misery into which sloth and consequent vice rapidly plunge their victims—*slavery*; not figuratively speaking (the slavery of the passions), though that, too, is present, but actual bodily slavery, with its attendant cruelties and horrors, ten times greater among the black race, who have no guide but passion, than among the whites, who, at least, in many instances pretend to be guided by reason and justice, and often by a higher authority.

First upon the stage appears the Emperor Dessalines, whose very name causes a shudder of horror. This negro, who is generally characterized as "the monster," "the fiend," &c., commenced his reign in 1804, immediately after the declaration of independence. The island fairly groaned under his

oppression, and he reminds us more of those bloodthirsty African kings, who, far removed from the influences of civilization, have, for ages, one with another, spent their days in destroying the human race. It is said that Dessalines, in his short reign of two years, slew fifteen thousand mulattoes. It is true that some of his public measures were characterized by sagacity and prudence, but nothing could exceed the savage ferocity with which he wreaked his vengeance upon all who were so unhappy as to incur his hatred. The demon once aroused within his breast, neither rich nor poor, young nor old, male nor female, were safe from the direst efforts of his malice. He was put to death, by his own soldiers, in 1806.\*

Having rid themselves of this cruel master, the people chose another negro, named Christophe, as his successor, who, according to the fashion of tyrants in this island, as well as in some other places, was first proclaimed president, and afterward crowned king. Like Nero, he commenced his reign mildly; like Nero's, it ended in cruelty. The Reverend Mr. Hanna says of him that, "intoxicated with excess of power, and restrained from the indulgence of his passions, by neither a sense of religion nor the salutary influence of early education, he became at first capricious and unfeeling, then the miserable victim of jealousy and revenge, and, in the end, a cold-blooded and remorseless tyrant.† Toward the close of his reign, his cruelty became dreadful; he buffeted his generals, beat the governor of the Cape, degraded generals to the rank of private soldiers, sent his ministers to labor on the fortifications, and kept his attendants in arrear of their pay, from extraordinary avarice.‡ The citadel of La Ferriere was a monument of his cruelty; the building of it was a vast undertaking, and Christophe was determined to make it one of the strongest in the world. Captain Agendean, who worked for two years and a half, as a prisoner within its walls, said that every stone in the fort, *had cost a human life.*§ Another instance of his savage disposition is almost incredible. During his absence from Cape François, all the mulatto women prayed openly in church, that he might never return, because of his tyranny. When he did return, he had every one of them sought out, dragged from their dwellings and murdered.¶

\* *Precis Historiques*, etc., etc.

† *Notes*, vol. 1, p. 168.

‡ Harvey, pp. 390 and 393.

§ Hanna, p. 1v.

¶ Candler, p. 32.

His tyranny finally produced a conspiracy against him, so that an armed force, under the Duke de Marmalade, marched against him, and being joined by the personal adherents of the king, the latter shot himself in his palace, in October, 1820; or, as a Haytian writer expresses it, "after having made his countrymen groan under a rod of iron and blood, he expiated his crimes by committing suicide.\* Besides the atrocities committed by Christophe, he was carrying on a civil war during nearly the whole of his reign, with Petion, who had been elected president of a republic, formed by the people of the southern district of the island. The treatment of the prisoners taken by him in these wars, says Mr. Harvey, "was of the most cruel kind."†

Meanwhile, the eastern part of the island was equally distracted. The Spanish Haytians, under General Juan Sanchez, were fighting with the French, who still retained some posts in that quarter, and at about the same time, the English made a descent upon the island and captured the city of San Domingo. Thus, at one period of its history, the negroes in this small island, instead of being compelled merely to till the soil, were literally laboring for five masters, viz., a negro, a mulatto, a Spaniard, an Englishman, and a Frenchman, all of whom were engaged, to a greater or less extent, in slaughtering this unfortunate race, whom philanthropists are ever insisting on placing in positions in which, being without the protection of masters, they are left a prey to the cruel.

Under Boyer, a mulatto, educated in France, the whole island became united in 1822, into a military republic. Boyer, in turn, was obliged to abdicate, owing to a revolt in 1843, and with difficulty made his escape to a man-of-war, lying in the harbor.‡ He was succeeded by another mulatto, named Herard, in 1844. In the same year occurred another revolt, and General Guerrier, a negro, was made president. In 1845, Pierrote became president. More revolts and a revolution, which placed the administration in the hands of the negro general, Riché, in 1846.

In this year, Soulouque succeeded to the supreme power; and, in 1849, he made an alleged plot to assassinate him, the

\* Harvey, p. 399. Hanna, note to p. lvii. Christophe is said to have slain 15,000 mulattoes. Schœlcher, p. 239.

† Sketches, etc., p. 103.

‡ One of the insurrections which occurred in 1843, was headed by a black general named Dalzon, who, it was said, had determined, if successful, to murder every mulatto, man, woman, and child, in the island, and he had decreed that every black who should protect any mulatto, would be punished by the tearing out of his eyes and tongue.—*McGregor's Progress of America*, vol. i., p. 1196.

pretext for removing all obnoxious persons, of whom many fled, and great numbers were beheaded.

Soulouque crowned himself emperor, under the title of Faustin I., on the 4th of April, 1851.\*

Thus, besides the indolence and general degradation which have prevailed in the island since it has been under negro management, there have also occurred innumerable revolts and civil wars, which have caused immense destruction of life and property, to say nothing of dragging such a large proportion of the male population into the service of the army.

The military system of Hayti now requires a moment's notice. The Rev. Mr. Hanna says that "one third," perhaps he could almost say, "*two thirds*," of the population are soldiers.† This seems to be an exaggeration, as the general estimate made of the numbers of the Haytian army is from 40,000 to 45,000 men. How great a tax this is upon the people may be inferred from a comparison which will enable us better to judge of the magnitude of such an army in proportion to the contributing numbers. If the British nation, for example, maintained an army proportionately large, it would number 1,600,000 men! If France, it would be about 2,000,000 of men. The manner of recruiting this large army is often despotic. "I am at this moment witness," says Mr. Schœlcher, "of a thing which I should find it difficult to believe, if it had not passed under my own eyes; for the last eight days, companies of five, six, or eight soldiers, have been roaming about the streets of Port au Prince, bayonet in hand, and collecting according to their fancy all the young men who seemed to them suitable for the service."‡

The troops are generally described as a lazy, ragged, ignorant, and often shoeless set of vagabonds.

The appropriation for the army during the year 1845-'46, absorbed out of the general expenditure, which was \$5,148,724 for that year, the enormous sum of \$3,786,319, or more than five sevenths of the whole amount, leaving only \$1,362,395, for all other branches of the public service.¶

We now come to a new phase of the so-called freedom of Hayti. As might be expected, a condition of affairs similar to that described, must soon press heavily on the finances of a country. States, if they do not need food like individuals, at

\* Lately deposed.

† Notices, &c., p. 50. This gentleman, as we have before remarked, although he thinks Mr. McKenzie's work gives a false impression, appears certainly to convey to the mind of the reader a worse idea of the state of the country, than is received from the book alluded to.

‡ Haiti, p. 246.

¶ Macgregor, vol. i., p. 1200.

least require funds to keep them alive; and the rulers of the Haytians soon discovered, that, however agreeable in theory might be a Utopia without labor, its locality was certainly not in the Queen of the Antilles, and that a population squatted on the earth and sucking bananas, though they might be fulfilling their own ideas of terrestrial happiness, just as their brethren in Africa have been doing these many centuries, were neither profitable to the state, useful to mankind, nor promoters of morality. The wealth of the island, acquired during the days of its industry, was soon squandered; the disinclination of the people to labor prevented the accumulation of more, the finances of the government were pinched, and hence originated the *Code Rural* of President Boyer. This code, in plain English, reduced the large body of the negroes to slavery without any guarantee of protection during sickness and old age. It is too long to be copied entirely in this place. We will, however, give a summary of its principal provisions. It decrees that—

"All persons not excepted by the third article *must cultivate the earth*; they cannot quit the country for the purpose of residing in a town or village, without the permission of the judge of the peace, who shall not give such authority without being assured of the morality of the applicant, of his regular conduct, and of his ability to maintain himself in the town; they cannot send their children to school, or to be apprenticed in town, without a certificate from the judge of the peace; they can, under no pretext, establish a shop, or sell produce in the country, with certain exceptions as to the articles of produce and home manufacture; they cannot build a house in the country unconnected with cultivation. . . .

"All persons not farmers, or proprietors, living in the country, without having contracted with some cultivator, are *reputed vagabonds*, and must be arrested and taken before the magistrate, who warns them that by law they are bound to contract, and if they refuse to do so they are sent to prison; and if they persist after eight days' confinement, they shall be condemned to labor on the public works until they agree to make a contract. After a contract is once made the provisions for enforcing its execution are strict."

To show who were the persons subject to the provisions of this act, we transcribe the third article entire:

#### CODE RURAL.

"ART. 3. Tous les citoyens étant obligés, de concourir à soutenir l'état, soit par leurs services, soit par leur industrie, ceux qui ne seront pas employés civils ou requis pour le service militaire; ceux qui n'exerceront pas une profession assujettie à la patente; ceux qui ne seront pas ouvriers travaillans, ou employés comme domestiques; ceux qui ne seront pas employés à la coupe des bois propres à l'exportation; ceux enfin qui ne pourront pas justifier leurs moyens d'existence devront cultiver la terre."

Here, then, is a formal acknowledgment, on negro authority, that man cannot live without labor, and a confession that negroes will not labor unless they are compelled to; and the in-

ference to be drawn from this, and indeed from the whole history of Hayti during the last fifty years, is, that by suddenly and violently depriving negroes (as they are now constituted) of their white masters in the western world, even though these be not perfect, you deprive them of *protectors* and leave them a prey to civil wars, discord, massacres, vice, and consequent disease, danger of famine from improvidence, and what is perhaps worse than all, the despotism of their own negro rulers. Besides this, we must consider that the world is not yet entirely influenced by the golden rule; even the most just and enlightened nations make strange confusion between *meum* and *tuum*; what, then, is to be expected from those whose professions are not so loud? How easily are pretexts found for the seizure of provinces and states! And if the avarice of the just can scarcely restrain their fingers from robbery, what can protect a rich island like Hayti, with a fertile soil on the one hand, and 700,000 laborers on the other, strong and capable of developing it, from the grasp of some ambitious Cortes, Pizarro, or Walker, who will be regularly "invited" by one of the factions of the country to aid in subduing another, but who will end by placing his iron heel on the necks of both! And would America or Europe interfere in such a case? Have they forgotten LeClerc, and his army of twenty-five thousand men sent out by Napoleon, and rapidly destroyed by the climate and negroes of this island insatiate of blood?

We sincerely hope a better fate awaits it, for to whatever depth of degradation the unfortunate people choose to descend, we can conceive of no motive which could possibly justify any one in again enslaving them so long as they do not infringe the rights of others. At present there is certainly not much danger of whites being invited there, for such is the hatred of the race existing, that no white man can hold a foot of land within its territory; no white man can marry a Haytian woman, and thereby become entitled to her real or personal estate, nor can any white man trade without a special license renewable yearly with a heavy fine.\* Indeed, under Dessalines, the existence of the white race was entirely ignored, that chief having proclaimed a constitution which declared all the inhabitants of the country *black*, whatever might be their color.†

But in spite of all the evidence we have to prove the sad

\* Candler, p. 108. McKenzie, &c.

† Article 38 of Boyer's Constitution is as follows:

"Art. 38. Aucun blanc quelque soit sa nation, ne pourra mettre les pieds sur ce territoire a titre de maitre, ou de proprietaire."

condition of Hayti and its people, there are a few ultra philanthropists who cannot, or will not see it. They flee from truth, and when it presses them hard, hide their heads in the sand like the ostrich. Had they been Nathan in the days of David, the world would never have known David's sin; they hide truth that the truth may prevail, as if a kingdom divided against itself could stand; no good cause has ever yet prospered by such means; and we are at a loss to conceive how any benefit can accrue to the negro race from this constant bolstering up of his character, by many who are undoubtedly sincere in their motives. On the contrary, is it not quite clear, that if the negro be as moral as represented he needs no instructor? if he be industrious there is no necessity for the industrious to teach him to labor; if he have the capacity for self-government there is no reason why the civilized world should lend him a helping hand to protect him from the unprincipled; in short, if he is able to take care of himself (as he certainly must be, if possessing half the virtues attributed to him by some of his friends), in these cruel conflicts of races, in which, since the days of the Canaanites, millions of men, who have allowed themselves to sink into indolence, vice, and barbarism, have been swept from the earth by stronger, and generally more industrious arms, why then let him stand on his feet and show it.

These utter zealous persons whose only idea is to free the bodies of the negro race, regardless of consequences, remind us, by the speciousness of their arguments, of Pharaoh's magicians, who, by their cunning enchantments, "could make the worse appear the better reason."

Is the fact stated, that the most gross superstition and irreligion prevail in Hayti? Immediately Ham's magicians cite the white population of some decaying South American republic as an example of similar darkness and error. Are conclusive proofs brought of their idleness? They will point to the lazzaroni of Naples. Is it shown that the negroes throughout the West Indies practise witchcraft and sometimes the death-dealing ordeal? Then we are referred to the Puritans of New-England, or the Scotch of the last century. Tables of figures proving the abandonment of agriculture and commerce are met by counter-tables, so plausibly constructed as to mislead all but those well acquainted with the subject.

And in this manner the whole catalogue of failings and vices, observable in the negroes of Hayti or elsewhere, is matched, or plausibly accounted for, just as a worthless or abandoned

man will sometimes attempt to extenuate his guilt, by citing the examples of many illustrious persons, in each one of whom, some single vice of his own was a conspicuous failing, forgetting that while he combines in one the *faults of many*, he exercises the *virtues of none*; conspicuous examples of each of the faults of the negro may doubtless be formed among the civilized races of the earth, but it is the aggregate of all combined in one unfortunate race, that at present constitutes their weakness.

And so while Ham's magicians are playing their tricks, the subjects of Ham are continually exposed to new plagues; for surely, if these magicians can persuade the civilized and philanthropic world that humanity has gained by the bloody revolution in Hayti, by the long list of massacres that have occurred since, and by the irreligion, immorality, ignorance, and indolence, that have reigned during the last fifty years, there is no doubt but that we may yet see scenes enacted in the United States, compared with which, those in that island would be as child's play.

We have alluded above to tables of figures made to show that the industry of Hayti has not suffered by emancipation; one of these tables, relating to the production of coffee, has had quite an extensive circulation, and if its author understands the mode of culture of that article, his statements are more ingenious than ingenuous. The endeavor is to prove that the negroes, notwithstanding the *apparent* falling off in production, raised more coffee in 1841 than they did in the days of slavery, the inference intended to be conveyed being, that they are quite as industrious in a state of freedom as in bondage. As the reader has seen, the export of that article has fallen off more than one half, but the writer of this table tells us that the negroes themselves *consume* the difference; a little examination will show the character of this statement.

The difference between the exports of 1789 and 1841 is 42,000,000 lbs.; the population of the French side 700,000 souls;\* hence, every man, woman, and infant, must drink sixty

\* We have said nothing of the population of Hayti because there has been so much guess-work upon the subject that it is almost impossible to form a correct opinion of it. An African clergyman, the Rev. Alex. Crummel, says the population doubled in the twenty-five years ending in 1824. He estimates it, in 1800, at 500,000 souls, and, in 1824, at 935,000. On the other hand, Mr. Schœlcher says, that well-informed persons in the island agree that the population does not increase. De Gobineau says it diminishes. Humboldt says that on the most favorable principles of increase it *might* have been in 1825, 820,000 which would be more than doubling in twenty-five years. But on the other hand, again, Mr. McKenzie obtained a semi-official statement, estimating it in 1827 at only 423,042 souls. This gentleman remarks that he made repeated efforts to obtain from government an official estimate, but failed to do so. The estimates for the year 1789 are various. A table prepared by order of

pounds of coffee per annum, or more than a pound a week *each*! which is highly improbable. Again, 42,000,000 lbs. of coffee require an immense quantity of sugar, and yet the Haytians have given up the culture of sugar! Besides this, we have already given the statement of one traveller informing us that water was their beverage, and of others that their fare was coarse; these facts make it difficult to suppose that the negroes in Hayti, as a general rule, consume much coffee; but even if they did, it would certainly imply no greater industry for a man to go and gather a few berries which grow with little culture, and even spontaneously, than it would for a savage living on roots, to use the requisite exertion to lift them from the ground and place them in his mouth; even the savages in Africa pluck the bread fruit from the trees when they are hungry.

If Bordeaux were suddenly to cease exporting clarets, it would give us a fine idea of the style of labor of the people, to say that they were just as industrious as before, but that they now go into the vineyards before breakfast and eat the grapes, instead of making them into wine!

If our views of the condition of this island be thought gloomy, they, nevertheless, appear to be true; and we might cite the authority of many competent to judge, who have arrived at, perhaps, darker conclusions than ourselves. We will only cite two. Mr. McGregor, the well-known statician, after a long examination of the political, moral, and commercial state of the country, thus daguerreotypes its past and present situation, while considering, with anxious forebodings, its future prospects:

"What the destiny of Hayti may be," he observes, "we will not attempt to determine; further than the revolutions of 1842-'46, the expulsion of the president Boyer, the atrocities committed by the negroes upon the colored races—the contests and distractions between the former political men of the island—the insecurity which prevails—the non-payment of the instalments of indemnity to France—the neglect of agriculture—the consequent want of products for trade, and the lax morals and indolence of the population, are all

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the French government made the number of negroes in the western part of the island that year 480,000; Colonel Malenfant's estimate was 700,000; Moreau St. Remy, 450,000. We suppose there is not much known about either the past or present numbers in the island. Mr. Schœlcher, in 1841, thought the population of the western side was about 700,000, and a writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (edition 1856), places it at 740,000. These calculations appear not unreasonable. Considering the vitality of the African race, their small requirements, and the ease of subsistence in Hayti, it is not improbable that the movement of the population is, and will be, similar to that of Africa, increasing rapidly at times, and then being swept off by wars and epidemics; for not the least severe and cruel infliction upon this helpless race, caused by a sudden and violent emancipation, is, that while a people sunk in sloth and vice are peculiarly a prey to diseases such as small-pox, cholera, &c., as has been the case in this island, they are almost totally deprived by their ignorance, of medical aid, from their own race, and by their folly, of that from any other race.

subjects, when deliberately considered, that do not leave us much good to hope for, in the prospects of Hayti."\*

Count de Gobineau, in a work recently published, entitled *L'Inégalité des Races Humaines*, thus forcibly sums up the advantages enjoyed by Hayti, and contrasts them with the fruits produced after fifty years trial :

"There," he observes, "we find institutions not only similar to ours, but founded upon the most recent maxims of our political wisdom. All that the voice of the most refined liberalism, has proclaimed in the deliberative assemblies of Europe, during the last sixty years, all that the most zealous friends of the freedom and dignity of man have written, all the declarations of rights and principles, have found an echo on the banks of the Artibonite. No trace of Africa remains in the *written laws*, or the *official language*; the recollections of the land of Ham are *officially expunged* from every mind; once more, the institutions are completely European. Let us now examine how they harmonize with the manners.

"What a contrast! The manners are as *depraved*, as *bestial*, as *ferocious*, as in *Detromi*," &c.

M. de Gobineau then dwells upon the hatred existing between blacks and mulattoes; the dreadful massacres perpetrated; the abandonment of agriculture; the indolence of the people, remarking that industry was not known, even by name. In short, drawing a much worse picture of the condition of the island, than we have done.†

"The negroes of Hayti," he adds, "though removed from Africa by several generations, are the same as in their native clime. Their supreme felicity is idleness; their supreme reason murder."‡

Finally, if our representation of Hayti, or *New Africa*, as it may more properly be called,§ be correct, it is clear that the hopes of the least sanguine, even who lived in the days of Jefferson, regarding the future progress to be there displayed, have been cruelly disappointed. Yet, we do not pretend to say that the question, as to negro capacity being on a par with that of the white, is answered. All that we claim is, that the lives of two generations of men, living in perfect freedom, and surrounded by every possible advantage, is another added to the many already existing proofs, that the negro race will never rise to that point through a process of freedom; and let us add that they are not the only people who have been compelled to achieve civilization through long periods of servitude.

\* Progress of America, vol. 1., p. 1203.

† See *Essai sur l'Inégalité des Races Humaines*, par M. de Gobineau, C. V.

‡ *Ibid* — We have referred to Hotz edition, not having the original.

§ Haiti is the aboriginal name of the island, which, in the language of the Indians, means "mountainous land." Columbus gave it the name of Hispaniola, or "Little Spain." The French changed its name to St. Domingo, when it fell into their possession. The negroes with a great deal of good sense, restored its original name.

## ART. IV.—THE CENTRAL AMERICAN QUESTION.

## AN AMERICAN VIEW OF THE POLITICAL DESTINIES OF THE ISTHMUS.

SPEAKING with geographical propriety, the American Isthmus includes that irregular body of land between the eighth and nineteenth degrees of north latitude, connecting the two large table-lands of North and South America.

It was discovered in 1502. In that year Columbus landed on the eastern shores of Central America, disembarking at Point Casinas, on the coast of Honduras. The interior of the country, however, was not explored, and the adventurous navigator continued his voyage along the coast as far as the Gulf of Darien.

A number of attempts had been made by adventurers, under grants from the crown of Spain, to subdue the tribes inhabiting the regions of Central America, and to plant colonies there at different points. The conquest of the country was ultimately intrusted by Cortez to Pedro de Alvarado, the most distinguished of his generals. The campaign was decisive. At its termination, in the year 1524, Alvarado was in possession of the larger portion of the country; and although it was some years before the natives were completely subdued, they were too enfeebled and too much dispersed to present an organized resistance. Immediately after the conclusion of the campaign, Alvarado founded the city of Guatemala; and the whole country under that name was added to the immense dominions of Spain.

It seems that the Spaniards united with their plans of colonization of the ancient country of Guatemala, a zeal, which was in a measure sincere, for the propagation of the Catholic faith; and that with the first settlement of the country, a system of instructions and missions was organized. But there are, unfortunately, too many proofs of the fact, that notwithstanding the care taken for the salvation of their souls, the Indians, although they invariably received the ceremonies of the new faith with perfect submission, were treated with great cruelty under the color of religion, and were put to the severest tasks of labor by virtue of their vassalage, which the invaders compelled them in every instance to acknowledge formally. The simple and unwarlike tribes on the north coast are related to have received the invaders of their territory with submission, and to have welcomed them with the most joyful demonstrations. They flocked to the seashore to kiss the hands

of their newly-arrived masters, and to lead them in barbaric state through pathways strewn with flowers, and to the music of shells, rejoicing like simple children over the wonder of an hour, which unconsciously involved their whole destiny.

The country of Central America has attracted modern attention in various regards. Ever since its first discovery, the Isthmus has been an object of more special consideration to maritime nations, who have indulged for three centuries the hope of drawing closer together the opposite extremes of the world's commerce. The trade of Asia, including the untold wealth opened to modern commerce in China, Japan, and Polynesia, the key to unlock which, in the fancies of the age of the Conquista, as well as in the more exact calculations of the nineteenth century, was to be found in the passages of the American Isthmus, formed a temptation too splendid to be neglected in any times of commercial avarice or excited enterprise.

Toward the beginning of the sixteenth century, various explorations were made to discover, through some communication of the two oceans, a shorter route to the Asiatic Spice Islands. However, in the ignorance then prevalent of this portion of the world's geography, it was supposed that tropical America was in the immediate vicinity of Asia;—and, indeed, it is related of Columbus, that, in his first voyage in 1492, when he reached Cuba, he was firmly persuaded that he had touched a portion of the continent of Asia. The configuration, however, of the newly-found land of Central America was gradually recognized, chiefly through the discovery of the waters of the Pacific by Balboa in 1513;—and at the same time that he enacted the strange ceremony of taking possession of the ocean for his king, an eager desire was excited to discover an inter-oceanic passage, through which might pass the commerce of the world, that was to enrich Castile. The prevalent ideas, however, of the geographical situation of Asia, were still widely erroneous; and it has been calculated by the celebrated cosmographer, Alexander von Humboldt, that the figures and inferences of Columbus would have advanced the eastern shores of Asia, which were sought to be reached, as far as the meridian of San Diego in California! The search for an inter-oceanic passage was persevered in for a number of years. In 1522, the Emperor Charles directed a letter to Cortez, instructing and urging him to discover a passage, “by which the distance to the spice lands would be shortened by two thirds.” The cosmical views, however, of the age became considerably enlarged by the island discoveries in the Pacific, in the early

half of the sixteenth century, and the numerous voyages of the Spaniards and Portuguese, the principal navigators of this ocean, and who made it almost the exclusive theatre of their own enterprises.

The interest in an adequate inter-oceanic communication dividing the isthmus which connects the American continents, has come to be powerfully revived by the commercial spirit of the present age, as well as by the influence of late particular events. The project of such a communication between the two oceans was readily adopted by the English, who regarded with uneasy and ill-suppressed jealousy the lead taken by American enterprise in preparing the means of commercial transit across the Isthmus. But the United States appreciated the interest of all the maritime nations, in effecting the entire political neutrality of a ship communication between the two oceans; and when England manifested an anxiety to reserve the rights of her commerce, and consequently those of Europe, in the projected enterprise of a ship canal, the United States were fully prepared to treat on the subject in a willing and liberal spirit.

It was never the policy of the United States to attempt the exclusive control of the passages of the Isthmus. A policy so utterly fruitless, and so jealous and selfish, would have been adverse to the liberal, commercial spirit of the age, unworthy of our national position, and subversive of our relations of amity and good-will with the maritime nations of Europe. But, on the contrary, it was undoubtedly the policy of the United States to keep out undue European interference in Central America, and, by a jealous vigilance, assure themselves of free transit at all passages of the Isthmus. This proposition cannot be disputed for fairness; and it carries conviction and emphasis with it.

The necessity of constant free communication with our growing possessions on the Pacific; the prudent anticipations of the accidents of the future, and our proper relations as an American power to the transit route of the Isthmus, clearly demanded the exclusion of any European interference that in any degree threatened the neutrality of the inter-oceanic communication. As an assurance of the perfect neutrality of such communication, the United States have repeatedly demanded of Great Britain the release of her *de facto* dominion in Central America. It was supposed that the matter had been fully negotiated in the convention of April 19, 1850, popularly known as the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, but construc-

tions were put on that instrument to deprive it of force, and to convert it into diplomatic machinery to crush out our own interests in every part of the Isthmus, while maintaining there the impostured dominion of Great Britain.

The difficulties and complications which have taken place between our government and that of England, on the subject of the British usurpation on the Isthmus, are expressed in the convenient and summary term of "THE CENTRAL AMERICAN QUESTION." It is this question which we purpose to treat, to review and marshal its facts, and to give a history of it, correct, careful, and conclusive.

This history dates far back; but the subject is one of entire interest to us as an American power; and we, therefore, propose to review in detail the entire British title in Central American territory, as was supposed to be released by the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and without any reference in this place to later negotiations.

The facts of the case deserve a fair summing up, and we shall be guilty of no appeal to the popular temper on the subject, except such as may be directly suggested and fully warranted by the text of history.

The asserted claims of Great Britain in the territories of Central America, may be stated as the Mosquito protectorate, the Belize establishment (British Honduras), and the Bay Islands Colony.

The Mosquito title, in its first source, is altogether derived from an historical assumption—namely, that the native Indians, of whom so little is known that their proper name even has become lost to history, never lost their independence by conquest, but have continued from the remotest times a free and independent nation, and capable of acting politically as such. Nicaragua has repeatedly reclaimed the disputed territory as her domain, by reason of her succession to the rights of Spain. On the other hand, England has maintained, evidently for her own purposes, the authority of the Indian king, by virtue of a transfer of his territories into her protection, in the year 1687. The historical evidence, for the independence of Mosquitia, on the strength of which this protectorate is asserted, is altogether negative—being mainly adduced from the singular fact that no ruins of any fortifications or churches have been found, in proof of the country having ever been subjected to the dominion of Spain and held in possession by her.

In fact, however—admitting as we may the significance of

the evidence referred to—England, in her assumed 'protectorate, can desire no benefit from these historical doubts. In the treaty of Paris, drawn up in 1783, England had not made any profession of a protectorate in Central America; and by her own silence the claim of Spain was virtually admitted.

But, in 1841, England gave proof of her determination to secure the country as a dependency of the British empire. In that year San Juan was threatened by a man-of-war, while the country all along the coast was visited by Colonel Macdonald, the British superintendent of Belize, who, under the disguise of a protectorate, established an absolute control by deception and duress over the simple savages. Such an imposed administration England continued to maintain in Mosquitia, the crowning act of which was the seizure of the port of San Juan, in 1848. Just six days after the celebration of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, when it became certain that California would fall into the hands of the United States, and when an inter-oceanic transit had become a paramount object of interest, an attack was made upon San Juan by the British men-of-war, the *Alarm* and *Vixen*, and the port seized, and, under the name of Greytown, and with an English municipal organization, added to the Mosquito dominions. The outrage was committed under the pretext that the port belonged to the Mosquito territory, which extended, as it was claimed, to the lagoon south of the town. Under such a shallow pretext, England secured her vile acquisition, although she herself had previously recognized San Juan as Nicaraguan territory, and it had been, as history, tradition, and the monuments of the country, attested, a principal port of entry, under the dominion of Spain.

It is scarcely necessary to allude to the utter destitution of the Mosquito protectorate of right or title, as a territorial claim. Apart from any quitclaims, which England may have implied or made in the treaty of Paris, and that of 1786 with Spain, it is evident that her assumed protectorate could, in the reason of things, only have them extended to the mere persons of miserable and obscure savages, incapable of the territorial rights of civilized nations, and could never have rightfully implied the exercise of political sovereignty, which, in time past, she has virtually claimed in Mosquitia.

As to the Belize establishment, the British usurpation of territorial sovereignty there has been equally characteristic of the policy of England, to turn every privilege to advantage by claiming more than is conceded, and to make the most specious

pretexts, however weak in invention. It was by virtue of treaties with Spain that the English obtained the right to cut mahogany and dyewoods at Belize; but all domain or sovereignty was positively excluded. This limited and peculiar establishment constitutes really everything to which England can justly pretend in Central America or Mexico; and our own government has been willing to recognise it as such. We should insert the explanation that Belize is not properly a part of Central America, but of Mexico, having formerly belonged, probably, to the vice-royalty of Yucatan; and that the questions connected with it are scarcely subjects for any practical interference on the part of our government, while there is such a complication of parties to the issue of territorial sovereignty, and Guatemala chooses to submit to encroachments on her territory. It is very evident, however, that, in establishing the dominion of so-called "British Honduras," the territorial sovereignty was usurped, in open disregard of the terms of the original treaty concessions; and that, not satisfied with the false pretence of sovereignty in the premises, Great Britain has perpetrated the bolder crime of adding to her political estate, at the expense of the neighboring powers. The very name itself of British Honduras is said to have been usurped to give color to a claim to certain islands in the bay, which had been notoriously recognised as Honduran territory.

The chief and most distinct issue made by our government in the Central American imbroglio, had been in relation to Ruatan and the "Bay Islands," which we refer to as having been wrested from Honduras. The history of the foundation of the so-called "Bay Islands Colony" is the brief one of the open violation of law, without circuitry or pretext.

What are spoken of as the "Bay Islands" comprise a number of beautiful islands dotting the Bay of Honduras. Many of them grow valuable woods, and one of them affords the best harbor in that part of the coast. The natives of these islands, who were very peaceable and docile, were captured in large numbers by the early navigators, and sold as slaves in Spain; and this, with the ravages of the pirates, almost completed the work of depopulation. In a short time only three of the islands were occupied by the remnants of the native population, namely, Ruatan, Utila, and Guanaja. The most remarkable and important of these islands is Ruatan, which alone remained inhabited down to the present century, and on which the English for more than two centuries have striven to keep a foothold.

In the year 1642, Ruatan and Quanaja were taken possession of by a party of English freebooters, who were not resisted by the Indians. The seizure of so important a position as these islands, was calculated to excite the fears of the Spanish settlers in Central America. The English, from their facility of position, might at any time easily invade the neighboring ports, or might cut off their communication with Spain. The governor of Havana, and the captain-general of Guatemala, with the president of the Audiencia of San Domingo, excited by these apprehensions, and the complaints of the priests that the neophytes of the country were in danger of being perverted to the heresies of their invaders, made common cause in expelling the enemy. The expedition prepared by the Spanish authorities sailed early in the year 1650, and disembarked in one of the harbors of Ruatan, which had been fortified by the English. The Spanish met with a gallant resistance, but, after a bloody contest within the lines, the garrison was totally routed, and the victors immediately began to advance on the English settlement or town in the interior. They were detained, however, in travelling over the land without guides, for several days; and when they arrived at the town they were in search of, they found that it had been abandoned by the English, who had escaped from the island in their vessels. The town was given to the flames. General Vallalva, the leader of the expedition, next proceeded to collect on board of his ships the entire Indian population of the island, and he settled them at the fort of San Tomas de Castilla, where he disembarked in triumph.

The island of Ruatan remained uninhabited until near a century later. In 1742, it was again seized by the English, who immediately proceeded to fortify its harbor with materials brought from the ruins of the city of Truxillo. They remained in possession until 1780, when they were expelled by an expedition from Guatemala; and, in 1786, a treaty was finally concluded by Spain with England, requiring her to "*evacuate the country of the Mosquitos, as well as the continent in general, and the islands adjacent, without exception.*" But, with unwearied rapacity, the English made a third attempt on the island; and, having seized it, in the year 1796, they left a gang of two thousand negroes and Caribs, brought from St. Vincent, to retain possession of it. As soon as intelligence of the invasion was communicated to the captain-general of Guatemala, a small expedition was sent out, under command of Don José Rossi y Rubi, who was instructed to obtain information of

the condition and circumstances of this unauthorized settlement, and, according to his report, to take convenient measures to reconquer the island. On arriving on the north coast of Ruatan, Rossi went ashore alone and proffered a capitulation, which was instantly accepted with every demonstration of joy and *vivas* for the king of Spain; and he concluded the third expedition by raising the Spanish flag, without any opposition from the negro republicans, or from the Caribs, who inhabited a portion of the island to the south.

The English, however, were not induced by repeated failure, to abandon their design of seizing the island. In her treaty with Spain, in the year 1814, which revived the provisions already referred to, of the treaty of 1786, England relinquished her claim to Ruatan. In disregard of this repeated quitclaim of England in the premises, and notwithstanding the fact that, since her evacuation in 1796, Honduras had maintained a military post, and kept up an establishment on the island, it was seized again, in 1841, by Col. Macdonald, acting by order of the British government, and under the protest of Honduras; and it has since been settled by British subjects, who came over in marauding expeditions from the Belize.

After a series of wise delays, characteristic of the territorial policy of England, and in the expectation that her successive aggressions might have mellowed by time into a color of right, the final act of usurpation of the island was consummated, as quietly as if it had been known as British territory to all the world. On the 20th of March, 1852, the queen's warrant was issued, constituting Ruatan, and the adjacent insular group, including Bonacca, formally called Guanaja, Utila, Barbaretta, Helena, and Morat, a British colony, under the name of the "Bay Islands," the appointments to rest with the government of Jamaica.

There has been evidently no particle of right, or even tolerable pretext, for the claim of the British government to occupy and colonize these islands, unless we admit, as such, the explanation given by Lord Clarendon, that Ruatan had been "*spontaneously* occupied by British subjects." To dispose summarily of this and all other possible pretexts, we have only to remind ourselves that Ruatan never could have been properly considered as abandoned property, as Honduras had never failed to assert her right to the island, which, besides, notoriously as a matter of political geography, belonged to her; and the descents of Macdonald never could have confer-

red any right or title of sovereignty, made, as they were, in time of peace, and under the distinct protest of Honduras.

It may be added, with reference to any possible claim to Ruatan as a dependency of Belize, that any such pretension had to be abandoned as utterly absurd and hopeless, after the recent publication, at the call of the House of Commons, of an official letter addressed, on the 23d of November, 1836, by Sir George Grey, then under-secretary of the colonies, to Mr. Coxe, defining, by its boundaries, "the territory claimed by the British crown, as belonging to the British settlements in the bay of Honduras." These boundaries are given to be, from the river Hondo, on the north, to the river Sarstoon on the south, and as far west as Garbutt's Falls, on the river Belize, and a line parallel to strike on the river Hondo, on the north, and the river Sarstoon on the south; the British crown claims also the waters, islands, and cays, lying between the coast defined and the meridian of the easternmost point of Light-house Reef." The Bay Islands are situate *sixty miles* to the eastward of the meridian of Light-house reef, and they therefore cannot be claimed by the British crown, as at all included in its possessions on the coast of Honduras. The avowment of Great Britain could not be but fairly estopped by this recent record, besides being entrapped into a singular exposure of falsehood.

It will readily be understood, from the account we have given of British interference and intrigue in the territorial questions of Central America, that the real issue between our government and that of Great Britain, is, and has always been, as to the rightfulness of the possessions of the latter in Central America. To keep back and obscure this issue, by unimportant questions of verbal construction, and by diplomatic delays, has been the characteristic policy of Great Britain, while repeated attempts have been made, under the guise of "concessions" on her part, to compel our government to renounce all dominion at any time, in a country marked for our inheritance in the future. This, in brief, has been the history of the Central American negotiations.

We turn from this history to other prospects. We are persuaded that the Central American question is not to remain much longer in the hands of a technical and jejune diplomacy, but that the period approaches, when the whole question is to be resolved, not by the technics of diplomacy, or the fine spun doctrines of international codes, but under the application of a general law of American policy. At least,

this application affords the only just, ready, and practicable solution of an otherwise endless imbroglio; and to it we must eventually turn for redress, or else abandon the controversy in shame and despair.

It is, perhaps, needless to say that we refer to the resources of that well-settled principle of American rights, designated as the "MONROE DOCTRINE."

The policy of our government toward the American continents was early declared. In his Annual Message of 1823 to Congress, his excellency, Mr. Monroe, said: "The occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for further colonization by any European power."

Now, in the first place, this "Monroe doctrine" is not a mere individual assertion, as it appears on its face, although the British government has availed itself of such interpretation, and Lord Clarendon, in one of his diplomatic notes on the subject, has explained that it can only be viewed as the *dictum* of the distinguished personage who delivered it. We repel any such excuses, and reply that the doctrine laid down by Mr. President Monroe has been affirmed by successive administrations, sanctioned by the popular voice, and notified to the world, until it has truly deserved to be known as an authoritative declaration of American policy. As such it is now to be regarded.

In the next place, the Monroe doctrine, "asserted as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved," is not to be regarded as opposed to the sense of rights, or any idea of practical justice. In the exercise of those natural rights, which every government has, of self-protection and perpetuation, the United States have felt called upon to guard and defend against foreign interference and intrigue the liberties of other American states, whose political destinies surround and implicate them. Thus viewed, the Monroe doctrine is simply defensive, and implies the right of our government to protect and perpetuate itself. It looks, indeed, to a political destiny, but only as the legitimate product of time.

With all the looseness of political nomenclature, it cannot be accused of "filibusterism." Whatever popular outbreak, in supposed violation of our neutrality, may have proceeded from the excessive fondness of the people for restless and hardy enterprise, they have nothing to do with the territorial policy

of the government of the United States, which may be said, emphatically, in the face of other misrepresentation, to be conservative, patient, and looking to the grand results of time. The territorial policy of our government has, by the studied misrepresentation of the European powers, been confounded with individual enterprises and popular clamor, and held up to the world as grasping and impatient. It may be added, that by none have these libels been more encouraged than by Great Britain, who, at the very time she was shaming our government to all Europe, for alleged complicity with Walker—assumed, without reason, to be an arrant filibuster at the start—was herself rendering homage at home to that celebrated Anglo-Indian filibuster, Lord Dalhousie, for having added “four kingdoms, besides lesser territories,” to her Indian empire. But in such recrimination, however just, there is but little force, as it is too notorious that, for a century and a half, Great Britain has been engaged in extending her territory by corrupt arts and open violence. As for the policy of our government toward all Spanish America—it being one of strict neutrality, of patient anticipation, and jealous vigilance to the insidious interference of any of the European powers—time will at once justify and reward it.

This reward is positive and certain, if we can only protect the fulfilment of the destiny of Central America against foreign disturbance; and to do this we have taken the oath of American liberty, and, in the interests of that liberty, have the right to act in the face of all the world. The destiny of Central America, if only left free, points inevitably to our advantage, for thus left free, it resolves itself into an alternative, in either event of which we may reap our reward, and obtain a justification of our policy.

Let us name this alternative as the destiny which *is* Manifest, and that which is Possible. And now, in short, if the destiny merely Possible is to be fulfilled, and the time shall come when Central America shall give up her old habits of strife, her cherished devotion to political folly, and her national fondness for revolution; and when, in the study of political lessons, and in the cultivation of the arts of peace, she shall grow up into a strong and enlightened American power, narrow must be the mind and cold the heart that cannot see a reward for us in such a redemption from political error, in the expansion of a peculiar American liberty, in the extension of our commerce with a nation grown up to wealth and enterprise, and in the pleasures of intercourse with a people deserving our respect and confidence. But if for Cen-

tral America there is another destiny, one made Manifest by the lights of her history, and assured by the curse of wasted blood, if she is ever to forsake her nationality in the wreck of revolution and civil war, and if, in her ruin, her surviving love for American liberty, and the infusion of American sentiment and influence, shall win her to a union with the great Republic of the North, we may indeed glory in the reward which extends our empire, and proclaims our virtue by a victory of PEACE.

ART. V.—THE UNION—NORTH AND SOUTH—SLAVE TRADE AND TERRITORIAL QUESTIONS—DISUNION—SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY.

OUR Union is formed by an association of many independent and sovereign States, each State in itself a nation; and sovereign power does not rest in a majority of the whole people of all the States, but in the whole people of each and every State. Ours is not a republic of people, though it has some of the characteristics, but is a republic of States; and in the people of each State is lodged the ultimate sovereignty. These free and independent States have associated together for common, but specific purposes, viz.: the maintenance of peace, prosperity, and concord, among themselves, and the enforcement of peace and respect from abroad. In order the more perfectly to attain these objects, a kind of compromise compact was made and entered into by themselves, which, reduced to writing, was called a constitution, by which a sort of fictitious general government was established and recognized by all the States. In this compact each State delegated certain rights and powers, thereby enumerated to be employed by that general government for the common benefit of all; and by this compact, these rights and powers so delegated to the government thus created, were clearly defined and strictly limited. The federal, or general government thus created, as aforesaid, by State compact, was really, to a great degree, fictitious; that is, it was the government of no people, but rather a kind of agent appointed by mutual agreement to transact business for all the States, with the character and purposes of the agency plainly expressed and defined in a written constitution, and thus served the twofold purpose of presenting a single front to the world outside, and of regulating, in ordinary matters, the domestic intercourse of the States themselves. The general government was a kind of incarnation of the voluntary union entered into by the States. Its powers were necessarily strictly limited and defined, and its duties equally so, by the very terms of the compact creating it, for otherwise the sovereignty of the States must have been abandoned altogether; and this created general government became a sovereign national finality—the government of a single indivisible people—which is an absurdity not claimed by anybody. So long as this delegated general government did not transcend its prescribed

powers and duties, and so long as no sovereign State violated the terms and spirit of the compact and no longer, the Union could remain a perfect one. The interests of the Northern and Southern States were always distinct and different, though not necessarily clashing, while the general government was fairly administered. The Northern States were always a carrying (and since become manufacturing) section, while the Southern were always, and are still, purely agricultural; and hence, wherever the general government transcended the limits of its rights and powers, its administration must inevitably act unequally, and thereby destroy the perfection of the Union, with the equality of benefit intended to be derived by all. In the compact, as said before, each State delegated an exactly equal quantum of rights and powers. These rights and powers were simply *delegated*, never surrendered, and hence subject to resumption whenever the exigencies of the State demanded, either in the failure of the consideration or in its final accomplishment. Absolute ultimate sovereignty, to some extent dormant, but still existing, of necessity remained in each and every State. Occasion for its exercise might never arise; but when it did arise, to it, and to it alone, was the last appeal. As long as a State continued in the Union, a voluntary party to the compact, just so long that State was subject to its provisions and the regulations made in accordance with it, as the supreme law of the land. By the common consent of the high contracting parties, the States, as expressed in the very terms of the compact, the constitutionality or *legitimacy* of the laws and regulations, made by the general government, were referred to the federal judiciary, as the supreme tribunal of the Union. A resort or appeal beyond this tribunal must necessarily amount to a vitiation of the compact, and abandonment of the Union. If any State violated the provisions of the compact, or refused obedience to the laws of the general government, pronounced constitutional by the proper tribunal, it results from the essential nature of all contracts that, from that moment, *ipso facto*, the State ceased to be a party to the compact, and forfeited all claim to the benefits accruing to the Union; and the other States were at liberty to continue the compact of union without the violating party, or to take the whole as vitiated in its violation by one, resuming each, its delegated rights and powers. Of necessity, there can be no punishment, or *recovery of damages*, for State violation of the compact or constitution, for by the very act the State passes from under its jurisdiction, and that of the government created by it, and is, in itself, ultimately sovereign. The difference between the government intended to be inaugurated, and that of the old Confederation, was not really of a fundamental nature, but consisted principally in the *extent* of rights and powers, delegated by the States and in the permanence of the object in view—that of the Confederation being special and temporary. Such we think to be the true theory of our Union, and so it was considered during the earlier half of its existence. If such be not the true theory,

then independent and sovereign States have blindly or infatuatedly involved themselves in a government that has absorbed or obliterated their sovereignty, where the minority is at the uncontrolled and unconditional mercy of the majority—the States themselves being but component parts of an absolute, undivided, and indivisible *nation*. If ultimate sovereignty is not in the States themselves, individually, then must it be in the federal government; and the present boundary lines of the provinces or States are not the boundary lines of sovereignty at all; but both, political and geographical, are mere matters of policy and convenience, which may be changed or abolished at pleasure by the sovereign national government. The mere statement of the proposition is sufficient to preclude the possibility that the original makers of the contract of union had any such idea, or viewed its theory by any such light. The whole thing, the Union itself, was but an experiment, and that too of doubtful success; and to argue that sovereign States would deliberately surrender their sovereignty and yield up their independence beyond the possibility of recall, save by actual revolution, that they might test the success of an experiment doubtful in itself, and, even if successful, of doubtful advantage, is to maintain an absurdity too palpable to be urged by anybody who is not arguing *with the majority*, in a question involving all the elements of passion and prejudice. The human mind is naturally prone to centralize and generalize everything; and undoubtedly this natural propensity has, in the progress of time, led a portion of the popular sentiment astray, and honestly so, causing it to view the States too much as but subordinate parts of a great nation; and this has been unfortunately too much the case even in the Southern States, where "States' Rights" has always been the prevailing sentiment. But this is very far short of that dishonest and corrupt class, who, from motives of personal and political interest, and from hate and envy of the people of the minority States, and yet whose *pecuniary* interest forbids a separation, would destroy State sovereignty altogether, and completely and finally nationalize the federal government.

Many of the wisest of the giants who flourished in revolutionary days, doubted the wisdom and success of our present Union system which was then inaugurated. Such men as Richard Henry Lee, and George Mason, the Solon of his age, urgently opposed and finally voted against it. They doubted the success of a Union where interests were so difficult, though perhaps, not necessarily antagonistic—they doubted that such a Union would be made to work equally upon both. Time will yet prove, if it has not already proved, their far-reaching sagacity. In the Virginia convention which adopted the federal Constitution, William Grayson gave utterance to a remarkable prediction in regard to the working of that Constitution, which has been in continued process of fulfilment from that hour to the present. "But my greatest objection is," says he, "that it will, in its operation, be found unequal, grievous, and oppressive. If it have any efficacy at all, it must be by a faction—a faction of one

part of the Union against the other. There is a great difference of circumstances between the States. The interest of the carrying States [and since manufacturing States] is strikingly different from that of the producing States. I mean not to give offence to any part of America, but mankind are governed by interest. The carrying States will assuredly unite, and our situation will then be wretched indeed. *Every measure will have for its object their particular interest.* Let ill-fated Ireland be ever present to our view. I hope that my fears are groundless, but I believe it as I do my creed, that this government will operate as a faction of seven [now *seventeen*] States, to oppress the rest of the Union. But it may be said, that we are represented and cannot, therefore, be injured—a poor representation it will be! The British would have been glad to take America into the Union, like the Scotch, by giving us a small representation. The Irish might be indulged with the same favor by asking for it. *A small representation gives a pretence to injure and destroy.*" The italics are ours. This patriot and true Southern statesman has long ago descended to his final rest, but not until he had lived long enough to see his sagacity vindicated in the rapidly progressing fulfilment of his prediction. William Grayson is dead, and his voice of warning is hushed, but he still lives in his remarkable prophecy. Already the federal government has become but a government for the Northern States, whose "every measure has for its object their particular interest." Our representation, hardly equal at first, has become daily and hourly less so. Out of the Union we would be equal, nay superior; but in it, we are verifying—continually adding proof on proof, strong as Holy Writ—to the truth, that "A small representation, but gives a pretence to injure and destroy."

As long as the true theory of the Union was rightly understood and respected, little or no difficulty was experienced, for no State intermeddled with the domestic affairs of another. But such men as Grayson, Lee, and Mason, understood Northern character better than we even yet do, after the added experience of threescore years and ten. As time wore on, men's minds became warped and diverted from the true theory, i. e., the rights and ultimate sovereignty of the States, to the contemplation of a central federal government; and the power of the latter has rapidly grown and centralized—the Northern majority becoming every day more and more aware of the inferiority of our representation in that government, and disposed to exert to our detriment, if not destruction, their fast-increasing power; and doubts and dangers, fiery commotions and bitter intestine dissensions, have arisen, steadily drifting us to the abandonment of an often-violated compact, and the rupture of a fast-becoming intolerable Union. As the true theory was lost sight of, and men's minds grew to believe, at least to avow, that sovereignty was lodged in a majority either of the States or of the whole people of all the States, that majority has grown proud, insolently arrogant and overbearing, and bitterly injurious in its conduct toward the

minority. Already, to all practical intents and purposes, it rules the legislative arm of the general government; the executive it will entirely obtain at the election, now but little over a year off; and then, as a matter of course, and avowedly, will follow the remodeling and sectionalizing of the federal judiciary—our last appeal and only safeguard in the Union. Fast obtaining entire control and possession of the general government, it is losing all sense of restraint—boldly claiming the compact as but an instrument to be interpreted, or even wholly disregarded, at its pleasure; and is ceasing altogether to respect the rights and powers of the sovereign States composing the minority. The Constitution, or compact of union, as it expresses itself, was made “in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.” At the time of its formation, the States were confederated for the single purpose of common defence. But as these States, to a great extent, were peopled from the same race and the same country, and their interests, though different, were not actually antagonistic, it was by themselves deemed to be best that each, acting in its sovereign capacity, should yield or delegate an equal portion of its rights and powers to a more perfect system of common defence against foreign encroachment, and a system of common domestic regulation, to enure to the equal benefit of all—forming a more perfect Union, whereby the blessings of liberty and tranquillity might be secured to themselves and their posterity.

The framers of this compact—of the instrument containing the articles of this agreement—were wise and good men; and the wisdom of man, probably, never shaped an instrument better fitted to the end in view. But, alas! the stamp of imperfection will still cling to the wisest of human productions! And our Federal Constitution is but another instance of how impossible it is for even the greatest sagacity, the wisest statesmanship, to foresee and provide for all the strange vagaries of human passions. So far as regarded themselves, the plan of our fathers was successful—as regards their posterity it has already proved a failure, which will soon be total. Wise men could and did foresee, seventy years ago, that the Union might work unequally; but who could foresee, in that era of good feeling, that it would do so? Who could then foresee that, in less than forty years, one vast section of the States would so far forget all ties of kindred, and blood, and even interest, as to enter into a deadly crusade against the other section, dis severing every tie of unity—claiming the Union as a mighty agent, not to promote the general welfare, but to destroy it and strike down the social system of the sister section; and all, apparently, to establish a mere airy abstraction, profitless to them, if attained, and ruinous to their sister States! Alas! that it is so. Alas, that “envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness” should have entered so deeply into the heart of the Northern people as to seek to injure us, even at their own expense! for it could not

injure them if slavery should be extended over the whole Southern continent, but would redound to their wealth, influence, and prosperity. The preponderance to a thousandfold of slaveholding representation in the confederacy, could not possibly injure the manufacturing and carrying States: their preponderance, especially animated with their present feelings and motives, must inevitably prove our ruin, if the disastrous Union be continued. We are told that these same men who entered into the compact for the States, and framed the Constitution, established and supported this airy abstraction—the immorality and injustice of negro-slavery, and the consequent duty to abolish it—and made it the duty of their posterity to establish and support it, by proclaiming the natural equality and inalienable right to liberty, of *all* men, in their previous Declaration of Independence. If they did proclaim or assert such a proposition, being but fallible men, they foolishly proclaimed a thing which was not so in fact, and utterly impossible in practice, with the experience of three thousand years before them, and the practical evidence under their very eyes. We do not intend to defend or to argue at all the morality and justice of negro-slavery. Japhetic master and negro slave is as natural and unassailable as any other relation of human life. It exists by Divine will, and is plainly established by Bible authority, as is now admitted by some of the ablest opposers of the institution, who attack the Bible itself in consequence. Even were the institution not perfectly sustainable by ordinary argument, the justice and morality of the relation cannot be called in question, because the goodness and justice of God are infinite. But we contend that these really wise framers of the Constitution were guilty of no such absurd folly as is attributed to them. They were declaring the right, natural and inalienable, of one portion of the *white* (Japhetic) race to shake off its political dependence upon another; and they themselves were all, or nearly all, the holders of negro slaves. They, in common with every one of that day, regarded the negro race as naturally inferior to the white, were not in their Declaration contemplating the negro race at all, and could not mean to include it in their somewhat broad declaration as to the natural equality and rights of men. Constant intercourse with the black race had so thoroughly convinced them of its inferiority and natural servitude, and it was taken so much as a matter of course, that they never thought of its being doubted, or dreamed of there being any necessity for a *saving* clause. Even Mr. Jefferson, deeply imbued as he was with the political radicalism and moral atheism of revolutionary France, and somewhat doubtful as he became in latter years of the *policy* of negro slavery, never dreamed of asserting the moral, mental, or physical equality of the black with the *white* race. Any other interpretation would make these wise men guilty of the absurdity of declaring with their *lips* that the whole human family were by nature equal, and entitled to freedom, and at the same time, by enslaving and continuing to hold in slavery a portion of that family, declaring-by their *actions*

that the portion so enslaved were inferior and subject to slavery. If they had intended to include the negro race in their Declaration, manifestly it was their duty to liberate at once every slave that they held—and if endorsed by the States, it became the duty of the States to free all the slaves; and the men of that sternly virtuous age were the very men to have performed what they regarded their duty, however unpleasant and injurious it might have been. And it is plain, therefore, from their *not* freeing their slaves, that *they* did not deem it their duty to do so—and from their not deeming it their duty, that they did not mean to include the slaves in the Declaration of Independence.

It is evident enough, even to those who so vociferously pervert the Declaration of Independence, that our ancestors neither intended to set the example or open the way for the crusade of the North upon the social system of the South;—and even if they had, it would be no sufficient warrant, as no human approval can render iniquity less iniquitous. Our ancestors framed the Union in good faith. In the *ignorant* and *benighted* day in which the States, through them, made their solemn compact, nobody questioned the right of an individual or a State to hold the negro in slavery, and all of the States but one were supporting, and had for years supported, the institution of negro slavery. When the federal compact was made and entered into, there were but thirteen of the States, the high contracting parties; and of these, *twelve* were slaveholding, and but *one* free. Since then, there has been a vast change in the relative numbers of the slave and non-slaveholding States—now *seventeen* are free, and but *fifteen* are slave! Thus in seventy years the South has gained *three* more States than she had at starting; while to the non-slaveholding *one*, has been added *sixteen*; and the Union, so far from being an agent of good in the hands of all, has become a mighty engine of oppression in the hands of the majority.

The wise framers of the Constitution or compact, contemplating the probable admission of new States without the institution, and its possible abolition by some of those who already possessed it, and whose latitude might be too high to continue it profitably, provided, by one of the express stipulations of the compact, for the easy and convenient reclamation of slaves escaping from their masters into those States where slavery was not permitted. The stipulation was inserted into the instrument itself, to prevent all those contingencies which might amount to a cause of war between the two sovereignties—for the harboring and retention of fugitive slaves (and *a fortiori* the stealing of slaves, and denial of redress) must otherwise have caused war. They were afraid to trust to that principle of comity which has become part and parcel of the law of nations. As matters have turned out, far better would it have been for the Southern States had this stipulation never been inserted in the terms of the compact; for had it not, *fear* would readily have succeeded where

love and honor have utterly failed. However, it was inserted, and to it the faith and honor of every State solemnly pledged. It reads (Con., art. 4, sec. 2d, 3d clause) as follows, and is as binding in honor to-day, as when it was signed by all the States :

"No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

The meaning of this clause cannot be mistaken by the commonest understanding the least tinctured with common honesty; and it is simple nonsense to say, that the persons here described as "held to service or labor," do not mean slaves, when nearly every framer of the instrument was a slaveholder, representing a slaveholding community. It is plain and imperative in its terms, and without qualification, that persons held to service or labor in one State, by the laws thereof, escaping into another, *shall be delivered up on claim* of the party to whom such service or labor may be due; and that no law or regulation in one State, shall operate to discharge such fugitive from the service or labor due in another. It is made the imperative duty, by this solemn compact, not only of the State authorities, but of the citizens themselves, into whose territory the slave escapes, to deliver him up *on claim* of the owner. It will not suffice for States to say, that it is the duty of the general government to execute the compact, and that it is enough that they offer no hinderance. Such was not the intendment of that solemn agreement. When they signed the compact, they pledged their sacred honor that they would be bound by it as long as they continued as parties to it in the Union, and that they, themselves, not the general government, would deliver up the fugitive on claim. If they did not intend to fulfil it, why did they make or agree to such a stipulation? Why did they not make the original clause, "It shall be the duty of the general government by its federal officers, to deliver up fugitive slaves to their masters," if it had been the original design that this duty should devolve upon the federal government? It never was intended that this stipulation should be executed by the federal government, but was an agreement among the States, by which they stipulated that they, themselves, would deliver up fugitive slaves on claim. In a "more perfect union," such as our fathers intended ours to be, with a very little honesty and a very little comity, this stipulation would be all-sufficient to insure the speedy and quiet rendition of every fugitive slave. It is very plain that the grave instrument containing this provision, when it says, "shall be delivered up on claim," means delivered up, and *not* secreted to prevent delivery; *not aided* to escape the owner; *not* delivered up, and then retaken or stolen by mob violence; but captured and delivered up in good faith. It is an instrument full of dignity, and gravity, and solemnity, that intends

no fraud, or subterfuge, or perversion; and was made by sovereign States co-equals and co-partners in its agreements, concessions and benefits. These sovereign States agreed and pledged themselves that while they remained in the Union, no law or regulation made by either of them should operate to discharge the fugitive from the obligation to service or labor in another State; but that they would deliver him up on claim. But this is not all. The sagacious men who framed the compact of union, foreseeing that the obligation imposed by this provision, albeit imposed on the States by themselves, might in the future become an ungrateful and disagreeable duty, and might thereby cease to be performed in good faith, further provided (art. 6, clause 2d) that, "this Constitution and the laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution and laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." And then, as if prophetic dread of coming evil warned that no human work was perfect, they endeavored to close the last door to fraud and civil discord by the solemn sanctions of an oath, providing in 3d clause of the same article, that "the members of the several State legislatures, and all the executive and judicial officers both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution."

In the process of time this self-imposed duty of delivery *did* become so abhorrent and revolting to the progressive consciences of non-slaveholding States, as to render all these additional safeguards of no avail, and make them decline, or absolutely refuse to do justice to citizens of other States, whose code of morals did not go beyond the confines of the Bible. Here the contract of union between the States was broken in one of its most essential provisions; and then, it was that the South should have abandoned the violated compact, and withdrawn from any further political union with States upon whom no pledges were binding. But with an infatuation, more honorable than wise, the South still clung to the pledges we had made, and called upon the avowed agent for the insurance of domestic tranquillity, the general government, to interpose its arm, make laws to effect the return of the fugitive slaves, and send forth its own sworn officers to execute them; thus softening to the *delicate* consciences of States the alleged severity of, but in no way abolishing, the self-imposed obligation to deliver upon claim.

Here was the origin of the Fugitive Slave Law; but even this measure of peace and compromise has not been met in the spirit that originated it. The Northern States not only refuse to execute the obligation assumed by themselves, but fulminate threats of vengeance against that power which has so kindly stepped in to relieve them. Voluntarily they assumed the obligation, and when they failed or refused to deliver up on claim, the compact and the Union were de-

*facto* dissolved; and now, when they have been again patched up by a compromise, they boldly declare that the arm of the confederation shall not carry it out within their dominion. Every artifice and subterfuge, and at last open resistance, has been tried, and only too successfully tried, to render nugatory this measure of tranquillity, and less than justice to us. And these means have been resorted to, not only by lawless mobs and profane babblers, but by legislatures, judges, and executives of sovereign States, in very charity, supposed to be ignorant of the last two clauses of the Constitution we have quoted, and to have omitted taking the oath there required. Several of the Northern States have passed laws, entirely subversive of the fugitive stipulation of the Constitution of the Fugitive Slave Law of Congress, and of the Dred Scott decision of the Supreme Court, making the delivery up on claim, and the attempt to capture and return a fugitive slave, a felony punishable by fine and imprisonment in the State penitentiary.

Some Southern statesmen tell us, that before the South finally withdraws from union with the North, they desire some "overt act" of aggression and violation of the compact, on the part of the North. If these enactments of state legislatures declaring that neither the compact nor the constitutionally made laws of Congress shall be enforced within their borders, making and executing laws rendering the attempt to carry out the Constitution and the federal laws a *felony*, and boldly denouncing the Supreme Court corrupt, and unworthy respect being paid to its decisions, be not "overt acts" of aggression on the plainest rights of the South, and deliberate "overt acts," in violation of the compact, then, we confess, we are at a loss to know what the terms "overt acts of aggression and violation of the compact" do mean. Nor is this all. These very States who thus defiantly deny us our rights and threaten to visit our attempts to enforce them with condign punishment, still claim the Union as intact and perfect, still refuse to admit that the compact of union, so far as they are concerned, is broken and rescinded. We do not deny their right, as they deny ours, to make their appeal to ultimate sovereignty, and by that appeal to withdraw from, or dissolve the contract which united them with us; but we do deny their right thus to violate, at pleasure, the most cherished stipulations of that contract, injuriously aggress upon our rights, and then insult us by still claiming their positions in the Union as unforfeited, and their equal participation in whatever benefits it may produce.

It is weak and ridiculous to delude ourselves with the idea that the federal government will be able, either to enforce respect for the decisions of the Supreme Court, or to execute the laws of Congress against the settled opposition of the whole North; and if we continue the Union, we had just as well abandon, at once, all efforts to enforce this provision of the Constitution, and to reclaim by law our fugitive slaves. Surely if we have been unable to obtain our rights through the general government when friendly to us, we cannot

hope to do so, now that it is fast passing into the hands of our deadly enemies. Already the federal legislature is in their power. There is every earthly probability that the executive will be entirely theirs in less than two years, and after it inevitably follows the federal judiciary.

Then, indeed, there will be no power to bridle them, or prevent the working of their destructive will; for, if we may judge by the past, honor, faith, brotherly love, and Christian charity, have no influence with them. And then, we suppose, if it is not forever too late, the South will at last awake to a sense of their situation, and abandon an unnatural and crippling Union! Then, at least, the stern law of self-preservation will admit of no alternative—no compromise! Is it wise, is it honorable, is it brave, to wait till then? Surely, if it has been the design of the Northern people to drive us to the utmost limit of endurance, they have done their work, and done it well; for, if we be men, and not cravens that will turn and lick the foot that kicked us, we will endure no more. They have stolen or decoyed away our property to the value of many millions of dollars, and denied us all return or remuneration; they have violated and trampled upon the solemn compact by which they entered into union with us, then violated and nullified the laws made under it; they have refused to permit the federal government to execute the Fugitive Slave Law, and by their own laws made the pursuing master liable to imprisonment as a felon. They have insultingly declared to us that we shall have no protection for our slave property in the territories, though all other property is protected; that we shall never carry slaves into another territory, or admit another slave State, or have another Southern-born executive; they have denied us the ordinary comity due between nation and nation; they have sent their paid minions to shoot our brethren in the territories, and among us to stir up strife and servile insurrections in the States, in solemn conclave\* proclaiming that it is the duty of the slaves to poison and assassinate their masters, and have endeavored to circulate the horrible doctrines among our slaves. Compromise after compromise they have made with us, and then violated them in every instance; they have attempted (and will, perhaps, succeed at the next election) to cut us off and reduce us to dependence, by running a candidate for chief magistrate, without even nominating an electoral ticket in the Southern States; they have abused and vilified us, exhausting the vocabulary of Billingsgate for epithets foul enough to designate us, proclaiming them from their hustings, their newspapers, and even their pulpits; and they have endorsed and sent forth to all nations, as uttering their sentiments, the infamous production of one of their female writers, where we, their cousins in blood, are held up to the gaze of an eager world as slave-drivers, lost to humanity and accursed of God, driving the slave round the cotton-field with thongs red in

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\* See record of Albany Meeting, 1857, and others.

his own gore, like veriest beast of burden, and when at last too old to be driven more, and useless, we are represented as, with cold-blooded and devilish barbarity, knocking out his brains.

#### ART. VI.—THE SOUTH CAROLINA COLLEGE.

WE promised in a recent issue to make very full examination of the able work of Dr. Laborde, which gives the history of the South Carolina College, from the earliest periods to the present time. It is a valuable service rendered to the public when our men of letters employ themselves in bringing to light all the facts connected with the great literary institutions of the country, and we hope to see this example of Dr. Laborde, followed by others. A connected work, which shall give the history of all of our Southern colleges, is particularly to be desired just now, with the view of comparing their several excellences, and of stimulating proper emulation among them. The work before us is a very good beginning. It is full of material and traces the progress of the colleges through many trials and much discouragement. It gives the names and services of all the professors, the annual catalogue of students, the lists of honors conferred, the range of studies pursued, etc., etc., and deserves to be in the hands of every student and *alumnus*.

The early settlers of South Carolina placed a proper estimation upon the importance of education, and a public library was instituted earlier than 1698. In 1710, an act was passed to found a free school, and very high qualifications were fixed for the teachers. In 1723, Mr. Morrit made proposals for a college. A project for a college to be founded by the State was drawn up in the time of Governor Bull, it is supposed by John Rutledge, as it has been recently found in his handwriting. This college was to have been located at Charleston. In 1785, an act was passed establishing colleges at Winnsborough, Charleston and Ninety-Six. The first two have been long in successful existence, but the last proved to be a failure. In 1795, the Beaufort College was endowed. In 1797, the College of Alexandria was incorporated in Pinckney district.\* In 1801, Governor Dayton

\* A recent writer in the *Georgetown* (S. C.) *Times*, makes the following notice of the colleges of South Carolina. We omit, but thank the author, whoever he is, for his most kind and complimentary references to ourself.—*Editor*.

[The printer, in the absence of the Editor, takes the liberty of inserting the passage erased by him, believing that compliments of this kind are not so abundant in life as to be thrown away by a mere dash of the pen. The extract, therefore, appears in full.—*Printer*.]

"THE COLLEGES OF SOUTH CAROLINA.—There are six colleges in the State that confer degrees. The Collegiate Institute, at Winnsborough, a most excellent institution, is not, strictly speaking, a college. The Cokesbury Institute, in Abbeville district, and the Beaufort College are both good high schools.

"The College at Columbia, the *alma mater* of Harper, and Evans, and Butler, of McDuffie and Legaré—the Demosthenes and the Cicero of the Palmetto State—the fostering mother of O'Neali, Memminger, Thornwell, Whitefoord Smith, and a host of distinguished names, too many to be mentioned, the noble old State College stands, of course, first. The Hon. and

recommended the establishment of a State college, and the reasons which chiefly moved the legislature are thus given by Chancellor Harper :

"The upper country, which, at the adoption of the Constitution of 1791, was comparatively poor and unpeopled, had allotted to it by the provisions of the Constitution a much smaller representation. It had now grown in wealth, far out-numbering the lower country in its population, and imperatively demanded a reform in the representation. This the people of the lower country feared to grant, on the

Rev. A. B. Longstreet—Judge Longstreet, author of the *Georgia Scenes*, and one of the most humorous and elegant writers in America, is president. He was one of Dr. Waddell's boys at Wilmington, and an associate of John C. Calhoun, at Yale. In the years '40, '41 and '42, he was our president. Never can we forget his counsels and his charming lectures on rhetoric and composition. He is now 69, but is as buoyant in spirit, as full of life and humor, we are informed, as when he wrote the adventures of Ned Brace; the description of the fight between Bob Durham and Bill Stallings; the account of the Debating Society, and the 'Charming Creature as a Wife.' The author of so many first-rate humorous sketches is competent to fill the chair of president of any college with dignity and grace. He knows when to laugh and when to create a laugh, and when to be grave and solemn. Bless the dear old Judge—he is ever ready to give smiles to the gay and tears to the distressed. The other members of the faculty in Columbia are said to be, in all respects, the men for their chairs. The college is flourishing. The spirit of misrule and rebellion, we trust, has been completely subdued.

"The College of Charleston comes next in point of age. It has never been extensively patronized; the number of students has never been large; still it is an institution worthy of all praise. The faculty has always been, and now is, an able one. It has some advantages which few American colleges possess. The Museum of Natural History has been commended by Agassiz.

"Dr. Wm. T. Brantly was president when we entered junior, half advanced, a man of gigantic stature and giant mind. We can see him now, resting his great head upon the palm of his hand, preparatory to some animated versions upon our follies or stupidity.

"Wm. Hawkesworth, a native of the 'Emerald Isle,' and a classical scholar of high attainments, was then, as he is now, in the chair of languages. Kind-hearted old gentleman—we all loved, although we worried him not a little. Each class as it rose Senior, and left his room, delighted to make the professor a handsome present. By this time, he must have a dozen or more pieces of plate, and a library of rare and costly works, presented in that way.

"Lewis R. Gibbs, than whom science has no more enthusiastic and devoted son—a man who would rather experiment in his laboratory, or sweep the heavens with his telescope, than pursue any of the pleasures sought for so eagerly by the world, was Professor of Natural Science and Mathematics. The Doctor is still in Charleston—having declined to take a professorship in Columbia. He was the smallest man of the faculty—physically considered—but no student dared to trifle with him. Intellectually his proportions are large. His name is familiar to all American scholars, and to the savans of Europe.

"Wm. P. Miles, a few years ago Mayor of Charleston, and now one of Carolina's most respected representatives at Washington, was a student then. So was J. D. B. De Bow of the *Review* and the Southern Convention, and Wm. H. Trescot, one of the ablest men in the land, and J. L. Girardeau, the eloquent preacher—and others known to fame. Miles was the most popular man in college—chivalrous, high-souled, a man, every inch of him, before he was of age.

"De Bow went through the course in three years, and took first honor. We called him 'Old De Bow'—he was so earnest and untiring in his pursuit of knowledge. After studying most of the night, he came to college in the morning with that famous black cravat of his tied loosely around his neck, his hair dishevelled—his keen black eyes sparkling above that nose—ready for any discussion or intellectual tilt. In his rapid rise to a position of commanding usefulness—the position of one of the great thinkers and actors of the South—we see what genius, moved by ambition and sustained by unconquerable energy, can accomplish.

"Erskine College is located at Due West, a pleasant hamlet, in Abbeville District. This is the College of the 'Seceders,' or Associate Reformed Presbyterians. Erskine has educated some men of note. It is flourishingly finely, we believe.

"The Furman University, under the control of the Baptists, is at Greenville. The situation of the institution is very eligible. Near the Campus, are the Falls of Reedy River. From the tower, you look directly up the main-street of the town. Furman is well patronized, has a first-rate faculty, and must prove a great blessing to the State. Dr. Furman, the president, is a gentleman, a scholar, and a Christian, in the full sense of those words. This is the only opinion we have heard expressed.

"Of Wofford College, located at Spartanburg, the Methodist College of South Carolina, we spoke last week. The course of instruction is very thorough, and already have several brilliant young men gone out of its halls, into the wide world of labor and achievement. We said in our last issue, that 'in our judgment,' the present faculty was fully as strong as the past. We certainly consider this high praise, for of the ability of Drs. Wightman and Smith, all are informed.

"The Lutherans have recently established a college at Newberry. Education is the order of the day—Excelsior! the motto of the age."

ground of the general deficiency of education and intelligence in the upper country, which would render it incompetent to exercise wisely and justly the power which such a reform would place in its hands. It was to remedy this deficiency that it was proposed to establish a college at Columbia. The act was passed, not without difficulty, nor without the strenuous opposition of many whom it was intended more especially to benefit. There is no citizen of the State, and still more who has directly and personally received the benefits of the institution, whose deepest gratitude is not due to every one who contributed, in any degree, to the success of the measure."

The first meeting of the board of trustees was held in 1802, at the governor's residence, in Charleston. In 1804, a president and several professors were elected, and the whole plan of studies and discipline was agreed upon. The college opened 10th January, 1805, with a faculty of two. The name of the first student on the records was the distinguished Chancellor Harper. In 1806, the college-roll presented the names of forty-six students. Profs. Hanford and Hammond resigned after a short service. The former was a graduate of Yale, and studied law with Roger Sherman. He married in South Carolina, and conducted, for some time, a leading academy in the State where many eminent men received their early education. Professor Hammond was also from New England, and was from good revolutionary stock. He graduated at Dartmouth, came to South Carolina, in 1803, and took charge of the Mount Bethel Academy, in Newberry district, which came to have high repute, and prepared the first scholars for the State College. He was a man of high character and excellent attainments, and the father of the distinguished Governor Hammond, of South Carolina.

We pass over the recital of the several rebellions, plots, and counterplots, which took place in the earlier and later years of the college, with this remark, that it is much to be regretted there should ever prove to be such difficulty in bringing within proper restraint the ardent, impulsive, and excitable spirit of Southern youth, and in establishing proper discipline over them. In our references to Dr. Laborde's work we shall find greater satisfaction in his memoirs of eminent men, than in any of the details of their juvenile excesses.

James Gregg, who resigned his tutorship in 1811, was of revolutionary parentage. He became afterward an eminent lawyer, and was a man of the highest personal character and integrity. We quote from Dr. Laborde, p. 66 :

"For the last thirty years of his life, few had as large and lucrative practice. He bore his part in the most important causes, and it was his fortune to contend for victory with men of subtlest intellect and rarest learning ; but never did he fail to acquit himself well. His mind was eminently logical ; he looked to the argument, and nothing else. There were no flowers of rhetoric strewn along his path ; had there been any, he would not have stopped to have picked them up. For the reveries of fancy, the outpourings of the imagination, he had

no taste. He never said a pretty thing, and never relished it when said by others. He was without wit or humor, but could laugh as heartily as others when they were produced by his friends. He was a man of eloquence only in the sense that earnestness, love of the right, is eloquence."

Speaking of the year 1811, our author remarks, p. 69:

"In its walls, at that time, were young men trimming their midnight lamps, whose souls were fired with the loftiest ambition, and whose genius and learning were to shed the brightest lustre upon the commonwealth. In that number were McDuffie and Legaré; the man of eloquence, perhaps never surpassed in that mystic power by which soul is infused into soul, and the multitude made captive; and that other man, whose profound scholarship and varied endowments have enhanced the glory of American literature."

Dr. Jonathan Maxey, the first president of the South Carolina College, died in 1820. He was born in Massachusetts, in 1768, became a Baptist clergyman in 1791, and was elected president of Brown University when but twenty-four years of age. In 1802, he was transferred to the presidency of Union College, New York, and in 1804 to that of North Carolina, of which he became the very heart and soul for nearly a quarter of a century. He was small of stature, but nevertheless of commanding person; was a profound metaphysician and a great scholar. In polite literature he had mastered nearly everything, but was less critical in his knowledge of the ancient languages. "From the depths of the unexplained and unexplainable mysteries of philosophy, from the field of pure speculation, when he was striving with Plato to get a glimpse of truths which no human mind has been permitted to penetrate, he could in an instant divert the current of his thoughts, and in plunging in the midst of Nature's scenery have his soul elevated to rapture at the sight of a flower, a tree, a precipice, or a running brook."

As an orator, Dr. Maxey had scarcely a superior. The Hon. Jas. L. Petigru said of him: "Never will the charm of his eloquence be erased from the memory on which its impression has once been made. His elocution was equally winning and peculiar. He spoke in the most deliberate manner; his voice was clear and gentle; his action composed and quiet; yet no man had such command over the noisy sallies of youth. The most riotous offender abrank from the reproof of that pale brow and intellectual eye."

Of his capacities as a teacher, Dr. Laborde says, p. 117: "I will not say that he was unequalled; but the united testimony of all his pupils and colleagues justify the assertion that he was never surpassed. In the South Carolina College he was the teacher of belles-lettres and criticism and metaphysics. He was remarkable for the clearness of his perception, and for the ease, facility and precision of his expression. Dr. Henry has often, in conversation with me, dwelt with rapture on this part of his character. He has frequently said to me that he would analyze a chapter in Kames or Locke with more

readiness than any man he ever saw, and present all the material points of the discussion with a perspicuity he has never seen equalled. What a guide through the intricate labyrinths of metaphysical discussion! How valuable to the students when, with all their toil and all their labor, they could reach no conclusion!—

“They found no end, in wandering mazes lost!”

In 1821, Dr. Cooper was in the chair of the presidency. Under his administration affairs were conducted for ten years, relieved only by the ordinary college disturbances. In 1831, the legislature passed several resolutions in relation to the religious and other opinions of the doctor, and expressing the belief that his connection with the college was a public evil. After careful examination of the facts and a full hearing, the board of trustees the following year dismissed the charges; but the doctor soon after resigned the presidency to accept the chair of chemistry. Dr. Henry was elected, *pro tempore*, to the presidency. The new arrangement, however, worked no better, and the college seemed tottering to its base and likely soon to fall. The cry of revolution continued throughout the State. The trustees requested the faculty to resign, which was done, and a reorganization took place. Dr. Cooper was thenceforth (1834) disconnected from the college.

Thomas Cooper was born in London, in 1759, and was educated at Oxford. Connecting himself with French politics, he was compelled to leave England, and settled in Pennsylvania, where his restless spirit soon found employment. He was indicted under the alien and sedition act, and sentenced to fine and imprisonment. In 1806 he was elected judge of the common pleas, from which he was soon removed at the request of the legislature. He then filled the professorship of chemistry successively in Dickinson College and the University of Pennsylvania. After resigning his post in the college of South Carolina, he spent several years in editing the statutes of the State, to which he was assigned by the legislature. His death took place in 1840. In regard to his intellectual character, we cannot agree that “he had no very high original powers,” and we think Dr. Laborde’s own admissions in his biographical sketch refutes the opinion. It is clear that he had no faith in metaphysical or ethical studies, but preferred political economy. This evidenced the materialistic tendencies of his mind.

As a teacher and lecturer, Dr. Cooper had no superior. His knowledge of the world and of men was extensive. He knew Fox, Pitt, Sheridan, Erskine, Burke, etc., and could tell anecdotes of them. He had been intimate in France with Robespierre and the other revolutionists. Incidents connected with these times he weaved into his lectures. His industry and zeal knew no limits. His failure in the presidency of the college was much the result of his ignorance of the peculiarities of Southern youth, and of the proper system of government to be adopted over them. He came to the South too late in

life. His intermingling with the politics of the State was another reason. His religious opinions were, however, the greatest stumbling block. Christianity was to him a fraud and an imposture, and this opinion he proclaimed everywhere. His devotion was mainly to the physical sciences, and in regard to education in general, he held the most liberal views. He wished the college to be free of all tuition charges, and thought the State should be at the whole expense of the education of her sons. In his personal character, Dr. Cooper was without reproach. He was "open, frank, and free from all dissimulation;" was fond of the truth as he understood it; was full of incident, humor and anecdote, and a most excellent table companion; was a good father, husband, master, etc. We give an extract from Dr. Laborde, p. 168:

"He was a great reader, had a fine memory, and forgot little that was worth remembering. He was not entirely ignorant of anything which might become the topic of discussion in the circle of educated gentlemen. He was a man of *information*, rather than of *learning*. I do not mean by this to intimate that he had solid attainments in nothing; but that his knowledge was general, and that even in those inquiries to which he had devoted his largest attention, depths had been reached by others to which he had never attained. There is, no doubt, force in the remark, that he may have failed in reaching the highest excellence in any one department of knowledge, because his attention was divided among so many. This is certainly fatal to success with most minds. It has not been so with all whose pursuits were equally diversified. Paschal and Leibnitz, and Sir William Hamilton, left the impress of genius in every field where they labored; and Priestley and Franklin, more kindred spirits, have in the midst of most distracting pursuits, secured immortality. Dr. Cooper's largest attainments were in chemistry and the cognate sciences, law, medicine, and political philosophy. His principal publications are, a 'Translation of the Institutes of Justinian,' his 'Translation of Broussais,' his 'Medical Jurisprudence,' 'The Emporium of Arts and Sciences,' and his 'Lectures on the Elements of Political Economy.' Besides these, I may mention his elaborate 'Essay on the Pentateuch,' and any number of pamphlets, religious and political. None of these can live; indeed, they are long since dead. His *Medical Jurisprudence* and his *Political Economy* have no merit whatever. His *Essay on the Pentateuch* has long since had the flimsy veil of its false learning and inconclusive reasoning torn from it, and stands exposed in all its deformity. He was full of what Horace calls *sapientia insaniens*, the extravagances of philosophy, which are contradicted by the stern convictions and the daily experience of almost every man. His contributions to the *Southern Review* are worthy of mention; and, as they exhibit him to great advantage, I give the articles by name: *Principles of Agriculture*, 1st vol.; *Gall on the Functions of the Brain*, 1st vol.; *Begin's Therapeutics*, 1st vol.; *Higgin's Celtic Druids*, 3d vol.; *Modern Gastronomy*, 3d vol.; *Higgin's Celtic Druids*, 4th vol.; *Bentham on Judicial Evidence*, 5th vol.; *Agrarian and Education Systems*, 6th vol.; *Geology and Pentateuch*, 6th vol.; *Social Life of England and France*, 6th vol.; *Operation of Poisons*, 7th vol.; *United States Bank*, 8th vol.; *Distribution of Wealth*, 8th vol.

Dr. Robert W. Gibbes was born in 1809, in Charleston, and graduated in 1827, at the South Carolina College. He was soon after elected assistant professor of chemistry in that institution and became afterward professor. He graduated in medicine in 1830, and was, in 1833, connected with a medical school which he had assisted in forming at Columbia. He has been president of the medical association of South Carolina, and was for a long time editor and proprietor of the *South Carolinian*.

He is a man of eminent scientific attainments and has published many valuable papers on such subjects. He has been a careful collector of specimens in natural history, etc., and has a cabinet of rare and valuable paintings. He published three volumes of documentary history of South Carolina, which were previously referred to in our pages, which have shed much light upon the history of the State.

Dr. Lewis R. Gibbes is our esteemed personal friend and was our guide and preceptor in days long past at the college of Charleston. We have taken pride in his growing fame. He was born in Charleston, in 1810, and was educated in Pennsylvania, and in Pendleton district, South Carolina, and in the South Carolina College, where he graduated in 1827 with the highest honor. For a little while he was at the head of the Pendleton Academy. In 1831 he was elected tutor of the South Carolina College, and afterward acting professor. Graduated in medicine in 1836. Went soon after to France and pursued the medical natural sciences under the greatest masters and with the highest success. Was elected professor of mathematics in the Charleston College in 1839, and still retains that post. His course embraces most of the physical sciences. He recently declined a professorship at Columbia. His scientific contributions have been frequent and valuable, and his labors in every field are truly herculean. There is no more valuable man in South Carolina, and he is greatly beloved by all of the alumni of the college of which he is the ornament.

Dr. Capers was connected with the college, but for a short time, and we will refer to him no further here than to call attention to our notice of him and his labors, in the REVIEW for February, 1859.

Henry J. Nott was son of Judge Nott, of South Carolina. He graduated at the South Carolina College and was classmate with Legaré. Was admitted to the bar in 1818, and attained high rank. In connection with Col. McCord he published Nott & McCord's *Reports*. His tastes were, however, literary, and in order to cultivate them he spent several years in Europe. In 1824, he became professor in the college. His career was brilliant. His studies covered the whole field of letters, ancient and modern. He worked up admirably all the materials of his extensive travels. His memory was remarkable, his humor rich, and wit ready. The style of his writings was faultless, as exhibited in the *Southern Review*, and in his remarkable work, *Odds and Ends, from the Knopsack of Thomas Singularity*. He was drowned, in 1837, on the ill-fated steamer Home, and was greatly lamented.

Stephen Elliott was born in Beaufort, S. C., 1806, and is a son of the world-famed Stephen Elliott, of that State. He entered Harvard, but graduated at the South Carolina College, in 1825. Was admitted to the bar in 1827. In 1835, he was admitted to the Episcopal ministry, but soon after became professor of Christianity in the South Carolina College. Was elected bishop of Georgia in 1840.

"An ornament of the church of which he is a member, illustrating in his life all those virtues which ennoble human nature, well may the State which gave

him birth point to him as one of her jewels, and the college as one of her most renowned professors. He is now in the vigor of manhood, and who does not hope that a long career of usefulness is before him? Goldsmith has remarked that nature every day produces in abundance men capable of discharging the ordinary duties of life; but she is niggard in the birth of an exalted mind, scarcely producing one in a century to bless and enlighten a degenerate age. What a noble calling is that of the Minister of God! Who could brave the sorrows of the world without the aid of those Heavenly ministrations which, in the name of His Master, he so freely bestows!

"Beside the bed where parting life was laid,  
And sorrow, guilt, and pain, by turns dismayed,  
The reverend champion stood. At his control  
Despair and anguish fled the struggling soul;  
Comfort came down, the trembling wretch to raise,  
And his last faltering accents whispered praise."

Robert W. Barnwell was born in Beaufort in 1801. Was educated in its college, and at Harvard, where he graduated. He was admitted to the bar of Charleston in 1823, and served in Congress from 1829 to 1833. In 1835, was elected president of the South Carolina College. In 1850, took a seat in the United States Senate by executive appointment. Says Dr. Laborde, p. 239:

"The wisdom of the selection for the presidency was at once vindicated by the success of the college. He pressed all his powers to their highest activity. The college seemed to have revived as if by magic. He was sustained by a corps of professors of great ability, and no one would express more freely than himself the high praise to which they are entitled. The affection of the people returned to their favorite institution with something more than its accustomed ardor, and a common feeling of rejoicing sprung up in every heart. His clear head, his good sense, his zeal, his labors, his honor, his courage, his love of justice—these exhibited themselves most prominently, and furnished a broad basis for confidence. The students were the first to perceive the secret of his power, and they extended to him a regard and esteem which have never been surpassed in the history of our college officers."

William C. Preston was born in Philadelphia, in 1794, his father being then there as member of Congress from Virginia. His stock is revolutionary.

He graduated at the South Carolina College in 1812, and studied law at Richmond, under Wm. Wirt. Went soon after to Europe, where he remained several years, studying for a time at the Edinburgh University, in company with Hugh S. Legaré. In 1822, commenced the practice of law, in Columbia, S. C. Served with much honor in the Legislature of that State, and was elected to the United States Senate in 1836. In 1845 was elected president of the South Carolina College.

Mr. Preston is regarded as the Patrick Henry of our times. Certainly oratory could be carried to very little higher perfection than it was carried by him. We heard him in his best and most glorious days. Though not profound in either law, literature, or statesmanship, his rank was eminent in all. He differed with the policies of the State, and thus retired early from public life, where he might have earned high distinction.

Says our author, page 293 :

"With the classic authors of England and France, he has great familiarity. With the great poets, writers of fiction, dramatists, and essayists, he has kept company from early life, and few among us have profited as much by it. Eminently æsthetic in his tastes, he always pauses to behold the forms of beauty, as they are presented on the right hand and the left. These have easy access to his mind, and find a place in all their infinite variety. May I risk the figure of likening his mind to a *parterre* of evergreens and flowers, all arranged with exquisite taste, ornamented with fountains and statuary, and winding pebbly brooks. Aptness and facility of quotation have ever been a marked feature in his literary character. Few subjects indeed can be suggested, on which he cannot bring to bear at once this beautiful and attractive mode of illustration. Mr. Preston's acquirements in the languages are restricted to the modern; and in the French particularly he is well skilled. He makes no pretension to a critical knowledge of the Greek and Latin, but is not without a most commendable acquaintance with their literature. He has drank largely at this ancient fountain of thought and wisdom, and no little of its sublime spirit has been imparted to him. He is not then wholly without

"The large utterance of the early gods."

"In conversational power I have never met his equal. Who that has ever heard him can forget his point, his anecdote, his fullness, his variety, his ease, his grace, his vivacity, his elegance, his imitative talent, and that curious felicity of expression which in South Carolina has been characterized as *Prestonian*."

Mathew J. Williams, like Dr. Lewis Gibbes, connects himself tenderly with our earlier days. He was the honored instructor at Cokesbury, in 1839, when we were a student, and in reality the head of that institution. He was born in Georgia in 1805; graduated at West Point and entered the army. Here he served, until compelled by ill health to retire. He then studied and practised law until his election to Cokesbury, in 1835. In 1846, he was elected professor of mathematics of the South Carolina College.

Says Dr. Laborde, page 315 :

"He takes rank, then, among her most distinguished professors. But I would be doing great injustice if I confined myself simply to the consideration of his mathematical genius and attainments. I do not claim for him a thorough and critical knowledge of other departments; but his reading has been general, and he exhibits that acquaintance which becomes the educated gentleman. But whatever may be the extent of Professor Williams' mathematical and other attainments, and the respect to which he is in consequence entitled, it is with more pleasure that I dwell upon him as a man. I must confess that though I have, as I conceive, a just appreciation of him, I know not how I will succeed in my attempt to present him to my readers. First, I remark that of all men I have ever known, he is most distinguished for a child-like simplicity. Kind in his nature, with a heart overflowing with sympathy, most apt to lend a ready ear to the professions of men, nothing is easier for him than to bestow his confidence, and thus become the victim of imposture. He is an entire stranger to all those arts to which cunning and unscrupulous men resort for the accomplishment of their ends, and with a nature as transparent as glass, is utterly incapable of playing a part."

Dr. Thornwell was born in South Carolina, in 1812, and graduated at the South Carolina College, in 1831, with the highest honor; was ordained to the Presbyterian ministry in 1835; served as professor in the college, from 1837 to 1839, and also from 1840 to

1851. In 1852, was elected president of the college, but resigned in 1855. He is one of the profoundest theologians and ablest pulpit orators in America, and a man of ripe scholarship.

Says our author, page 331 :

"The character of his intellect, his scholarly tastes, his rare learning for one of his years, his ardor, his enthusiasm, his insatiable thirst for knowledge, his talent for easy communication, all this pointed to a college as a most becoming theatre for his exertion. As a teacher, few, if any, have equalled, certainly none have surpassed him. Never was there in our walls a clearer head, a more acute mind. Always master of his subject, he was ever prepared to disentangle it of the rubbish with which it was encumbered, and, seizing upon its main points, to press them with a power and earnestness which were sure to make an impression. The most complex problems, the most abstract questions furnished the occasions for the display of his highest powers. He luxuriated in the profound, and dwelt with delight upon subjects, which by the many are regarded as incomprehensible. His mind was ever in search of law and principle; errors, like straws, he knew, floated upon the surface, and truth, like the pearl, was only to be found below. He is essentially a *man of truth*, and though none is more addicted to sober, philosophical speculation, still he is always in search of the *real*. He will accept no ideal, he will rest upon no counterfeit. He wants the thing itself. He revolts at the imaginative, the fictitious, the mere pictorial illustration, the imitative, and instinctively turns away from what Scott calls, 'forging the handwriting of nature'. Of the world of fancy—a world redolent with a beauty which nature in all her prodigality does not exhibit, he knows but little. His mind is logical, argumentative, metaphysical, and it is in this field of exertion that his genius has reaped its highest rewards."

In regard to Dr. Henry, we have only space to give the inscription which appears upon his tombstone :

#### R. HENRY.

Born in Charleston, December 6, 1792,

Graduated Master of Arts at the University of Edinburgh,

June 15, 1814,

Ordained to the Christian Ministry, May 25, 1817,

Chosen Professor in South Carolina College, 1818,

Received the degree of D. D. from the College, 1834,

Died in Columbia, Feb. 6, 1856.

*"Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus  
Tam cari capitis?"*

Erected by the students of South Carolina College,

As a tribute to the memory of one who, for thirty years, adorned  
the Institution by his learning and piety.

In regard to Dr. Lieber, whose fame was long inseparably interwoven with that of the college, and who we have had the great pleasure of knowing personally, we regret the necessity of being brief. He was born in Prussia, in 1800, and studied at the leading universities. Was an inmate of the family of the great Niebuhr. Being a liberal, he was compelled to leave Germany. His first American work was the "Encyclopedia Americana," in thirteen volumes, which was finished in 1831. He resided in New-York and Philadelphia; was elected professor in the South Carolina College,

in 1835. He resigned in 1856. We have space but for two-extracts from Dr. Laborde, pages 898 and 400.

"I think that his reputation as a thinker and author, must finally rest, however, upon his 'Ethics,' his 'Hermeneutics,' his 'Labor and Property,' and his 'Civil Liberty and Self-Government.' I would not have the reader suppose that I attach but little value to his 'Encyclopedia.' This is truly a great work of its kind. It met a pressing want. Something of the sort was much needed, and it accomplished the entire purpose for which it was designed. Perhaps a more acceptable service could not have been rendered. If he had left nothing else, this would be sufficient to secure for him an enviable reputation. Perhaps no book published in this country ever met with greater favor from the public. The necessities of the author compelled him to part with the copyright, and others have received the pecuniary reward for his labors. But he had a higher compensation. His name soon became known to the people of this vast confederacy, and he was proud in the consciousness that whatever might be done in the future in this department of literature, he had led the way, and could not be forgotten. The 'Manual of Political Ethics,' the 'Essay on Property and Labor,' the 'Hermeneutics,' the 'Treatise on Civil Liberty and Self-Government,' have received the highest praise from Story, Kent, Greenleaf, Prescott, Bancroft, and others in his country, and many of the best minds of Europe have added their warmest commendations. His works have been translated into several of the languages of Europe, and adopted as text-books in many of the highest colleges and universities. Perhaps no living author is more frequently referred to on all the great questions which he has discussed. Having written so much, and written so well, and in all exhibited the spirit of the true philosophical thinker, there are few subjects in any department of inquiry which cannot be illustrated by an appeal to his works."

The administration of Mr. McCay, as president of the college, was brief and troubled. He had excellent points of character, was a proficient in many branches of study, but had some faults which interfered with his success in an institution of this sort. Dr. Laborde treats in detail the points of controversy which arose in his administration, and we refer the reader to the work. It would be very unpleasant for us to refer to them.

At the present moment the college is in the most flourishing condition under the administration of President Longstreet. The faculty is as follows:

*Faculty.*—A. B. Longstreet, D. D., LL. D., President and Professor of History, Political Economy, Political Philosophy and Elocution; Maximilian Laborde, M. D., Professor of Logic, Rhetoric and Philosophy of the Mind; Rev. J. L. Reynolds, D. D., Professor of Roman Literature; John Le Conte, M. D., Professor of Natural and Mechanical Philosophy; Wm. J. Rivers, A. M., Professor of Greek Literature; Rev. R. W. Barnwell, Professor of Moral Philosophy, Sacred Literature and Evidences of Christianity; Joseph Le Conte, M. D., Professor of Chemistry, Mineralogy and Geology; Charles S. Venable, Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy.

B. W. Means, Librarian; K. S. Dargan, Bursar; W. B. Broom, Marshal.

## ART. VII.—LIBERIA AND THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

*Conclusion.*

## CHARACTERISTICS AND CONDITION OF LIBERIA—COST OF THE COLONY TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES—RECAPITULATION OF THE WHOLE ARGUMENT.

MONROVIA is bounded on the north and northeast by extensive mangrove swamps, which emit a great deal of miasma. This is wafted in and through the town by the morning breeze. This poison, impregnating the air, being inhaled by foreigners early in the morning on empty stomachs, cannot but deleteriously affect the system and add to the severity of the African or seasoning fever. Dr. Roberts has since become, and is now a permanent resident and practising physician of Monrovia—and “*at this time the doctor has the opinion that Monrovia is not an unhealthy place for emigrants to acclimate in.*” Other residents of high authority also asserted the healthiness of Monrovia. But Mr. Cowan could not be so convinced. He adds, “*In all candor I say, it is not easy to solve in my mind why emigrants, for years past have been stopped here to acclimate.*” (p. 46.) Others, less suspicious and less guileless than the author, would be at no loss for a solution of the mystery. The location of the college for Liberia, is also to be established, and wholly by charitable contributions from the United States, in this very unhealthy Monrovia—that location having been decided upon by the casting vote of Ex-President Roberts (p. 73), who is to preside over the institution, and who also is a resident of Monrovia.

After viewing the lands around New Georgia, Mr. C. says: “*I returned to the town with this conviction—this is not a healthy place for new emigrants from the United States.*” (p. 52.)

“*This town [Caldwell] was commenced in 1825. There have been drawn 303 town lots, and seventy-six farm lots, from five to ten acres each. Lots that were once improved, i. e. built upon, and farm lands that were once cultivated, are now in the commons. Much, very much is abandoned, that once was a delight. Here Zion Harris lived, who told in Kentucky of his farm, his horses and cattle, and sheep, and corn, and sugar—and he told the truth. But alas! his lands, as well as others, are as an oak whose leaf fadeth, and as a garden that hath no water. And he himself is with the dead, having been killed by lightning. There has been much disputing in years past, in this township in regard to land titles. Neighborhood altercations have sprung up—many lost a portion of their land, because of erroneous surveys and locations under the law; others lost all their improvements [buildings], and many moved away, while others, who remained, became indifferent to the improvement of their lands, expecting to lose the title to them. The legislature of Liberia attempted, by the appointment of commissioners, to give the people relief, but it was attended with too much trouble and delay, and what was done by them did not give satisfaction.*” (pp. 55, 56.)

And this and other such evils occurred, where the government received land in any quantity at the free gift of the American Colonization Society, and sells it at fifty cents the acre.

“*I saw abundant evidence that a family would not starve on a quarter acre of land well cultivated—but a larger piece would furnish more food, and the dain-*

ties of the tropics in greater abundance. But it is too plain, the people, as a body, aim only to obtain food and clothing for the present time." (p. 58.) "The body of the citizens in Monrovia appear not to have any regular business to attend to. And many of the children of those who have accumulated wealth, do nothing of a domestic character, while almost all the people think it necessary, so I judged, to have a native to carry a bundle, even to a half pound weight, and that native will be in a native dress," i. e. naked, or very nearly so. (pp. 81, 82.)

"Some of the merchants [in Monrovia] do a profitable business. I learned that, for some things, the Liberians pay 75 per cent. profit, and the natives 175 per cent profit." (p. 84.)

"What a change for the better would a good plough make in these fields! The ploughman would soon overtake the present reaper." (p. 87.)

In Louisiana on St. Paul's river, Mr. C. saw better management than usual, and the rare operation of pressing sugar cane and making syrup—and even oxen worked to the sugar mill. Yet even there, "whatever is raised does not do justice to the land, in showing what it can do to remunerate the owner by a proper cultivation of it. The native laborer works on his system, and the Liberian has adopted it." (p. 86.)

[Harrisburg.] "I was told that a short distance up this creek, there were falls that furnished good water-power for mill purposes. But in the present state of agriculture there can be no use for a mill here, except for sawing lumber. If corn were raised for bread, as it can be, and which the people, in mass, formerly used, a grist-mill could find employment." (p. 88.) From this it appears, as might be anticipated, that the entire operation of preparing for making bread is deemed too troublesome and laborious to be compensated by the benefit—and consequently, the colonists though always accustomed to corn bread, and certainly preferring it, have already ceased to eat bread, as ordinary and homemade food.

Of "Uncle Simon," a colonist of uncommon merit, and as an exceptional case, Mr. C. says: "He raises some cotton." And soon after, and in connection, he says "There are no fields of cotton in Liberia;" (p. 88.) Yet cotton, like sugar and coffee, is an indigenous growth. "There is a mill here [Millsburg] to grind sugar cane, but it is turned by human labor. A few had cattle, but they were not used to plough." (p. 89.)

There have been in Liberia a few marked and laudable exceptions to the general rule, in individuals who have exhibited industry, enterprise, intelligence in their operations, and who met with deserved success so long as the operations were so directed. Such was Zion Harris, already named. Such was Richardson, who was fast bringing into operation, and a condition for prospective profit, a large farm on St. Paul's. He had cattle broke to draught, and was provided with the various implements for good tillage, and was preparing for sugar-making, when he was unfortunately drowned. As in every other such case, with the death of the pioneer improver, the improvements came to an end. These exceptions, transient as they have been, show what good management might do in Liberia; and the general and total disregard of such admirable and successful examples of industry and thrift, still more completely prove the utter

hopelessness and worthlessness of the population in general, as their own masters, and without the direction of superior intellect. "Coffee is raised in the yards of many citizens. One man has eight acres of coffee trees and yet coffee is imported here." (p. 130.)

No horses or mules, used for draft, and rarely oxen, and only for machinery. No carts or ploughs (pp. 103, 108, 122, 130, 140, 159). A single exception of oxen carting, and that not for Liberians, stated p. 117.

In a lecture published in the "Presbyterian Herald," Mr. Cowan said :

"There were only three horses and two mules in the Republic; some twenty bullocks broke to the yoke, but none of them used for ploughing.

"Up the St. Paul's river, oxen are used by some farmers, but not to plough or carts; and when Richardson lived, in 1856, he worked oxen to plough his land. But in Monrovia, it seems oxen cannot be worked, because, it is said, *work kills them*. The natives do the work of beasts of burden. There is one street leading from the river bank to Ashmun street, that could in my judgment be graded for less than \$200, so that two yoke of bullocks, if necessary, can take up a good load from the wharf to any lot on the mount; and yet that street has not been graded. All the brick and sand, all the lumber and nails, all the merchandise and groceries, yea, everything but common, unhewn stone, are brought up from the wharfs on men's heads, or backs, or in their arms. What a strange sight, in a civilized land, to see cattle going about the streets, and a line of human carriers doing the work of beasts of burden! Twenty-five to thirty men, in single file, carry on their heads the materials for the erection of a *college building*! the building entirely paid for by contributions in the United States, is to be of brick, seventy by forty feet, and three stories high. I saw, I suppose a new improvement, a new cart, with some natives holding up the tongue, others guiding the cart by the tongue, others drawing the cart by a rope fastened to the bolster, and others behind pushing the cart. The cart was loaded with brick brought up previously on the head from the wharf, and deposited in the street.

"There is a good steam saw-mill in operation in Marshall, which is *owned by a mercantile firm* in Monrovia. (p. 93.) At Greenville there is a steam saw-mill going to ruin in the outer part of the town. It is true the lumber could be taken from the ground, by water, to the lower landing; and it is true that the prices would justify the running of the mill; and it is also true that logs could be brought down the river in any quantity to the mill; but it has been given up, it seems, to decay as fast as the wood frame and iron works will permit. The price of lumber is \$3 to \$5 the hundred. (p. 130.) At Buchanan, I saw a very valuable steam saw-mill going the same way that that at Greenville is going [that is to ruin]. It is owned in part here, and in part in the United States. (p. 142.)

"At Buchanan, I saw a jack, male, *ass*, the only one in the country; there is neither mare nor jenny [female *ass*] in the country. There are two mules, but both used for the saddle and not for work. Nor was there a yoke of oxen in the country. Some persons had had them, but fearing they might die, eat them. (p. 142.)

"Bexley showed a better class of farmers—though I am sorry to say they did not use oxen, mule, or plough. (p. 103.)

"The natives are the carriers of all the articles from the landing, and o wood from the woods, to the dwellings. As a *most every man* is a trader in Liberia, in tobacco or cloth with the natives, *he gets his work done at a nominal value*. (p. 131.)

"Many of the people saw hard times to get along, and I did not blame some of them for begging some assistance." (p. 98.) "Some people do beg of their own color, and of strangers, in Liberia. (p. 159.)

"That the great body of the Liberians eat animal food every day, I do not believe; nor do I believe that those now living on town lots, with no other land to cultivate, and depending on the productions of those lots, can raise enough to buy salt or fresh provisions for their daily wants. But this is not the fault of the country. It is the result of the policy of the people in making their settlements. *It is my opinion that 4,000 of the population of Liberia [more than one half] are living on quarter-acre lots.* As to the balance of population, 3,621, they are farm land, farming with the hoe and billhook, at an average of three to four acres for each farm. Why there is not abundance of meat, and to spare, is to be learned from this statement." (p. 176.)

*Population, and its Decrease.*—Mr. Cowan shows that the decrease of population is much more than I had estimated. He shows it to be 3,551 more than all the births which have occurred since the first settlement. "On data partly official, and all of which he deems reliable, he computes the total population of Liberia, of colonists and their descendants, in 1858, at 7,621, including all living children."—(p. 166.) The American Colonization Society had sent out in all, 9,872 up to January, 1858. This makes the actual decrease of these, 2,261, besides all the births in thirty-eight years. The Maryland Society, acting separately at first, had sent out to Cape Palmas 1,300—by both societies, 11,172. After thirty-eight years, of this number, *with their offspring*, 7,621 are living, the then total colonial population, leaving for deaths 3,551, exceeding births, which is thirty-three per cent. loss by death, and of absolute decrease in thirty-eight years.—(p. 166.) "I do not think," adds Mr. Cowan, "that the friends of African Colonization need be ashamed to tell these facts." His present commentator thinks very differently.

"None but free-born blacks went to Liberia until 1823. Up to July, 1827, 655 emigrants had gone from the North and the South to Liberia: nine of these [only] were emancipated slaves. From 1828, the number of the emancipated, to go to Liberia, increased every year, until now, that class of emigrants greatly outnumber the free blacks who go there." (p. 5.)

"Many of the statements we have had about her agricultural state have been too highly colored. The [small amount of] exports of Liberian labor, the absence of the plough, the unenclosed farms, and the [small] number of acres cultivated, prove the present deficiency." (p. 178.)

"Liberia is [still] sustained by labor that is foreign. The American Colonization Society places on her shores her citizens, supports them for six months, attends them when sick for six months, by paid physicians and nurses, and buries the dead—pays for the surveys of lands drawn by emigrants, buys [all] her territory from the natives, gives the government the right to sell lands to increase her treasury, and pays the expense of agencies to superintend these matters, except that of sales of land. The Episcopal, Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian Boards of Foreign Missions, furnish the population of Liberia with the Christian Ministry and teachers of common and high schools. These boards expended in Liberia, in 1857, over \$90,000. Three fourths of the sum the Liberians received, in the moral and pecuniary benefit of it." (p. 178.)

"The coast trade and the export duty was \$25,625—very near two thirds of the reliable revenue of Liberia. But this sum is from the labor of the natives. Is there another nation that gets its national support as Liberia receives here! As a nation, she may be said to live by the labor [and on the alms] of foreigners. . . . The statistics [furnished of exports shows a regular falling off in the last four years." (p. 178.)

Mr. Cowan evidently found much to condemn in the treatment of

the native savages within the limits of Liberia, by the colonists, and of their being neglected both by the missionaries sent from the United States, for their especial benefit, and also by the people generally. On these points, however, he expresses himself with much caution, and in evident fear of giving offence.—Among his much more full remarks, are the following:

"Liberia should pay more attention to the condition of the natives living within her political jurisdiction. . . . I could not see nor learn what measures the government had in operation to draw them into the enjoyment of civil privileges. . . . It is true that in many families male and female natives are employed to work. But there appears not a feeling of common brotherhood toward them." . . . "I could not but notice it on the part of the Liberians as a body toward the natives. How many of those who were living in families were clothed? How many of them were clothed for the Sabbath, and taken to the church for public worship? I would not judge harshly. But I fear that cheap pay, (and that pay not regulated by the rule 'do unto them as you would they should do unto you') has much to do with the employment of the natives." (p. 180.)

*Revenue.*—"It is plain that her national support is depending on the labor of the natives."—(p. 163.) "The Liberian government receives no revenue by taxing her citizens. She can pass no laws and enforce them on the tribes within her territorial limits that will bring in a revenue from their labor. She reaches them only by the coastwise trade that is carried on chiefly by foreigners."—(p. 164.) [Of course foreign traders will soon learn to go to other ports neighboring to Liberia, which are open to them, and where no revenue laws are in operation.]

"The revenue from her own productions last year, was but four dollars and sixty-five cents." (p. 179.)

How different is the Liberia as truly depicted and exposed to view in the foregoing pages, and upon unquestionable evidence, with the flattering representation which has been made to occupy most persons' minds, and which was produced by false recommendations and panegyrics of either designing, or of credulous, or fanatical colonizationists! The impressions which have thus been made on strangers, and the credulous and confiding world, are indicated in the following extract from the (Wesleyan) *London Quarterly Review*—and which eulogy was copied in the *African Repository* (of 1856), without a word of dissent:

"The achievements of colonization on the West coast of Africa can hardly be exaggerated. There we find a national polity, municipal institutions, Christian churches and Christian ministers; schools and a sound system of education; a public press, rising towns and villages, a productive agriculture, and a growing commerce. Under its rule, about two hundred and fifty thousand human beings are found living together in harmony, enjoying all the advantages of social and political life, and submitting to all the restraints which government and religious principle demand. Means are found to harmonize the habits and interests of the colonists, their descendants, the native-born Liberians, and the aborigines of the coast. As the creation and achievement of less than forty years, we insist that this is without parallel in the history of the world."

If the total pecuniary cost of colonizing and supporting Liberia could be set forth—without estimating other costs, in human suffering and sacrifices of life—the simple arithmetical statement would be more impressive on many than all the other facts and arguments here

offered for consideration. Such a statement, for at least as much money or commodities as have been given to or through the American Colonization Society, could be supplied easily by its officials. The mere money receipts and disbursements by the parent society are of course stated in the annual reports of the treasurer's accounts. I have attempted in vain, from sources deemed both available and reliable, to obtain these and other statistical facts from the records of the society. A broken set of the annual reports I have but very lately obtained (and owed to the courtesy of the Rev. W. Starr, Col. Agent), but of which the series is so much interrupted, that no fair average of the whole receipts could be learned from the accounts of particular years. I could from these accounts learn that, while the receipts have varied much from year to year, they have, on the whole, been generally increasing throughout the existence of the Society. Also, since Liberia has been an "independent republic" (for the last 11 years), the expenditures of money by the American Colonization Society, have not lessened, but have been greater than for the before dependent colony. With such imperfect lights, I will not pretend to estimate what have been the annual or the total receipts of the American Colonization Society—but earnestly hope that some functionary of that society will publish such a statement—and also include everything else that may here be deficient or incorrect.

But even if it were shown what were the receipts and disbursements of the parent society, passing through the treasurer's hands, there would still remain a vast amount of other costs—which will be merely here suggested, as proper to be embraced in a full statement of costs. The various auxiliary State Colonization Societies operated independently, and raised and used their own funds. Of course these would not appear in the parent society's accounts. Of the numerous other auxiliary societies (and of both there were 200 in 1830), though most of them probably paid part of their income to the parent society, none could have paid all. In the reports of the American Colonization Society, there are notices of some of the auxiliary societies resolving to pay some 30 and others 50 per cent. of their receipts to the parent society. The latter was referred to and applauded as a liberal provision. Therefore it must be that a large proportion of the collections of all the numerous auxiliary societies, did not reach the parent society or appear on its accounts.

Were the salaries or commissions of collecting agents deducted out of the receipts—or do the accounts show the *gross*, or only the *net* receipts? If the latter, then a very large amount was collected more than would appear, even if we had all the accounts of all the auxiliary societies.

Some of the State legislatures have appropriated large sums to the colonization cause, which did not pass through the parent society. It has been stated in the public prints that the State of Maryland—the most prodigal in this way—has thus appropriated \$250,000. The legislature of Virginia has thus expended about \$25,000 out of the treasury or funds of the Commonwealth.

Besides the first outfit of emancipated slaves, furnished by their kind masters (kind in intention, but cruel in effect), and which will be referred to hereafter, there have been many and frequent supplies of food, clothing, and other necessities, and to large amount, sent subsequently to the colonists from their former masters, and which were granted to their begging applications for relief, or voluntarily contributed to their ascertained wants and sufferings. In addition to commodities thus sent, there must have been much money. Within the present month, November, 1858, it was published that the regular colonization ship, which was about to sail for Liberia, would carry out \$10,000 in gold from former masters to colonists, their former slaves. As these particular contributions were expressly stated to be sent in gold, they could not cover any of the many like contributions of commodities.

The colonization ship, the *Mary Caroline Stevens*, of the value of about \$40,000, was a gift to the society from a single individual. This, and all other donations of commodities to the society, probably make no part of the annual accounts of receipts.

The most important item, and which, though conjectural, may be estimated with some degree of certainty, is the value of the slaves emancipated to be sent to Liberia. According to the official report of the American Colonization Society (*African Repository* for 1857, p. 152), the whole number of emigrants to Liberia, exclusive of the Maryland settlement at Cape Palmas, to end of 1856, was 9,502. Of these there had been emancipated in view of emigration 5,500, and 326 had purchased their freedom—making together 5,826. According to Mr. Cowan's enumeration, to end of 1857 (p. 166, and quoted here at p. 29), the American Colonization Society had, to that time, sent out 9,872 colonists, and the Maryland Society, to Cape Palmas, 1,300, making for both (included in the present Liberia) 11,172. Of the emigrants of 1857, and of all of the 1,300 sent by the Maryland Society, the proportions of free and slaves are not known. But supposing the proportion to be the same as were accurately stated of the other 9,502, the total number of slaves emancipated and purchased would be within a very small fraction of 6,850. The lowest average value of slaves in the thirty-eight years (1820 to 1857), in the United States was \$200; and the highest, at the end of that time, was not less than \$550. This will fix the general average value of each slave to have been \$375. There can be less objection to the height of this estimation, inasmuch as the emigrants generally were not only morally but physically much better than their class in general—nearly all healthy, and with an over-proportion of young adults. At \$375 for each, the whole number of slaves, to end of 1857, was worth \$2,568,750—which is the amount of pecuniary sacrifice and loss in the slaves themselves to the owners of emancipated slaves, and to the purchasers of those sold for emancipation.

The free negroes, as being also mostly select in morals and habits, and the best of their class, were personally worth something to them-

selves and to the community they left. But whatever this very uncertain value may be, it will be left for others to estimate.

Further, every emigrant, whether before bond or free, must have carried out some money or other property. Even for emancipated slaves this provision of their kind masters was rarely so little as \$80 for each. The free emigrants must have brought of their own property much more. But count this average of \$80 only for the whole 11,172 emigrants, and it amounts to \$335,160 of loss to the United States on this score.

The entire cost of both religious and scholastic instruction, for the colonists and their children, has been defrayed (and the bounty is still going on) by benevolent and pious contributions in the United States. Mr. Cowan states that the different missionary boards of the United States expended in Liberia, for 1857, \$90,000—and that of three fourths of that amount, or \$67,500, the Liberians received the "moral and pecuniary benefit." (p. 178.) Of what may have been the average on the total amount for thirty-eight years, I have no further information, and will not pretend to estimate—though the reports and records of these missionary boards would show the full and true amounts. Let it be observed that the ground of this charge is not for any part of the portion devoted (as all was designed to be by the donors) to real missionary labors and services for heathen Africans. It is of the three fourths spent (as Mr. Cowan declares) for providing schools and teachers, and preachers, and houses for worship, for the people of the already Christian colony and republic of Liberia.

Next, the cost to the government of the United States in pecuniary aids to the colony under pretence of the necessary expenses of receiving recaptured Africans, and the supporting of them until they are otherwise disposed of. Up to 1843 inclusive, there had been returned to Africa by the government of the United States, and delivered to Liberia, 286 recaptured Africans. Up to 1830, there had been in all 260—and the cost to the United States government (and all paid for the benefit of the colony) was upward of \$1,000 for each African returned. I have no later record of the recaptured Africans subsequently returned. In the "Pons," captured on the coast of Africa by a United States vessel-of-war, there were 900 Africans, of whom 756 remained alive when landed at Monrovia, and who were there "apprenticed" to colonists. What these cost the government I do not know. Very lately (September, 1858), the next such capture occurred, of the ship *Echo*, with 300 slaves. These were sent to Liberia by order of the President of the United States, in the war steamer *Niagara*, under a contract made with the American Colonization Society to receive the Africans in Liberia, and to take such care of them as would be necessary. For this service (including "instruction" as reported—whatever that may mean)—this government is to pay to the Colonization Society \$45,000. Of 271 Africans embarked, 200 only lived to reach Liberia—for receiving and disposing of which, this payment will be \$225 for each African.

For the additional and certainly very heavy expenses of transporting African savages in war steamers, I have no means for estimating—and still less the costs of all the naval and military aid and service rendered to Liberia by our ships-of-war, and by their men serving on shore, at various times, from the beginning of the colony to this time of the existence of the independent “republic.”

The irregular service of American vessels-of-war, going to and returning from Liberia, cruising off the coast or lying in port, and the more direct aids rendered to protect and defend, and all serving to preserve the existence and swell the income of the colony, I presume could not be estimated, separately, with any approach to correctness. Since the Ashburton treaty was made with England, in 1842, by which this government became bound to provide and maintain vessels-of-war, carrying eighty guns, on the coast of Africa (and which force has since served mainly as a squadron to protect Liberia), the estimate of the share of cost of Liberia to this government may be more nearly approached by competent persons having access to the accounts of the navy department. But as to all these government and naval expenses, nothing is now known except that they are enormous—and have been incurred for no real good, and for but little of any other purpose than for the defence, support, and benefit of the former colony, and now for the “independent republic” of Liberia. I trust that some patriotic member of Congress will call for and obtain estimates on all these points—and that the enormous expenses, trickery, and deception, both of maintaining the African squadron, and returning recaptured Africans, for the benefit of Liberia, will be completely exposed—if the abuses, and the system itself, cannot be also entirely abolished.

Of the enormous cost in lives, incurred by the United States government, in taking care of Liberia (which are values not to be estimated in money prices), I will adduce, as an example, the main facts of a single operation, out of the many cruises of vessels of the American navy on the coast, and of the waiting in the harbors or roadsteads of Liberia, for the service of the colony, and the republic. The seventh annual report of the American Colonization Society says—

“The United States sloop-of-war *Cyane*, Capt. Spence, had been at the colony in April [1823], and her officers and crew left there monuments of their zealous and persevering exertions. It is impossible to estimate too highly the services of Capt. S., and his generous companions. When informed of the suffering of the colony, they immediately repaired to Sierra Leone, fitted for sea the schooner *Augusta*, belonging to the United States [it had before been bought for Liberia, at the cost of the United States—see p. 10 *ante*], and hastening to the colony, offered it most cheerfully every aid in his power. *Though the cruise of the Cyane, had already been protracted in an unhealthy climate [the West Indies], Capt. S. resolved to remain on the coast so long as should be necessary to complete a work of defence and make suitable provision for the approaching rains. He furnished the colony with supplies and ammunition, built a house for the agent, and erected a tower of strong mason work, which . . . will, it is believed, prove an entire defence against the barbarians.*”

The general results of this service in sickness and consequent deaths,

only, and besides the numerous cases of illness which did not close in death, were forty deaths on the homeward bound voyage "from the effects of the African climate," after the commander (himself then ill) was forced to abandon his philanthropic service in and for Liberia. The surgeon of the *Cyane*, and Lieut. Dashiell, placed in command of the *Augusta*, had both previously died.

From the tenor of Capt. Spence's official report, it is evident that he deemed this frightful exposure and sacrifice of human life, required to aid Liberia, as being highly meritorious in himself, and in the administration that authorized such and all other sacrifices for this purpose. (Official Rep. of cruise of *Cyane*, 1823—7th Col. Report—Foote's "Africa and the American Flag"—p. 128).

The foregoing suggestions of materials for a full and correct estimate, if made use of by those having the *data*, and the facilities and ability for the task which are wanting in me, would show such results as would be accurate, and also astounding for the amount of price that the people and government of the United States have already paid, and still are continuing to pay, for the gigantic humbug (and also dangerous nuisance to the slaveholding States), of the former colony and present republic of Liberia.

But still there is one result to be confidently expected from this effort of philanthropy, which, however different from those sought for in vain, may compensate for all the cost of the experiment. There will be afforded full evidence of the great truth (until recently admitted but by few, and still denied and resisted by many), that the negro race is greatly inferior to the white, in natural capacity—and is capable of self-government, and of improvement to the extent of civilization, except under the direction and control of a superior race. The inferiority of the negro in his savage state and original birthplace—as enslaved in the United States (though thereby greatly improved)—as emancipated in the United States, and later in Jamaica—as under independent government in Hayti—all these different degrees of admitted debasement have been ascribed (by negrophilists) entirely to the want of mental culture, or to the depressing influence of slavery, or its long remaining effects, even after it had ceased to exist. In Liberia, the colonists were the best of their respective classes—removed from every power or influence which had been supposed to depress others of their race—and greater aids, pecuniary, physical and defensive, mental, moral, and religious, have been bestowed on them by benevolence and piety, than were ever offered to, or enjoyed by, any young colony, or community, since the earliest historical records. If, when these early and long continued aids and advantages shall no longer be continued or repeated, the people of Liberia shall retrograde and decline in civilization, there then will be left not the slightest ground or pretence longer to maintain the natural equality of the negro mind, or the ability of the negro to direct and sustain himself in freedom. The longer the aid and support to

the Colonization Society, and to Liberia, shall be continued, the more complete will be the experiment of the measure of the negro intellect, and the more conclusive will be the final result, in evidence of its inferiority, and its need for the direction and control of masters of a superior race.

The several connected positions which have been announced, and, I trust, maintained by sufficient evidence, in the foregoing argument, will now be concisely recapitulated.

It was avowed and claimed as being the exclusive design of the American Colonization Society; and also was so declared by its fundamental law, to remove, with their own consent, the free people of color of the United States. On this ground, the Society was at first favored and advocated, and was mainly sustained by slaveholders and by the Southern States.

The actual and main operation of the Society, and also the chief object of its most active and influential supporters, and which has been more especially urged onward in latter years, and also for the longer time of the existence of the Society, has been to encourage and induce the emancipation of slaves—accompanied (for the *present time*), by their being conveyed to and colonized in Liberia.

Besides this first and pervading deception, practised upon the proslavery community and interest, the emigrants, and the masters of the slaves emancipated to emigrate to Liberia, have been continually and systematically deceived by the official reports of the Colonization Society, and the numerous other publications made by its authority, as to the character of the country and climate of Liberia, and more especially as to the actual progress in improvement and success, and well being and doing of the colonists, and of the wealth of the government and policy of the present "republic" of Liberia.

Instead of the great and marvellous success, claimed to have been achieved in everything expected of and most important to a young community—the agriculture of Liberia is wretched, and not serving to support, or even to feed, those who pretend to till the soil. The commerce is very inconsiderable, and embraces not a single important article for export that is produced by the colonists' labor. There are no manufactures; no shipping business or interest, except between their own towns, and for transporting, to very small extent, other productions than their own. The instruction in all the schools, and the preaching and other services of religion and public worship, are entirely supported by money paid by the people of the United States, and which instruction, through schools and by missionary preachers, was designed and supposed to be for the benefit of the heathen natives. The revenue from taxation of the colonists and their property is almost nothing. There are but extremely rare cases among the colonists, even of the many who are suffering from want, of either industry, frugality, or care for the future—but, on the contrary, there have been general indolence, wastefulness, and improvidence: and, as consequences, much general suffering, and

a continued and great decrease of population. In short, the colony has been throughout, and the "independent republic" of Liberia continues to be, a worthless and hopeless pauper community, subsisting, to a great extent, on the alms and care of the misdirected charity of benevolent and deluded contributors in the United States—and without which aid and support being continued, Liberia, as an independent and civilized community, will soon cease to exist, after its long-continued maintenance has already cost the government and people of the United States many millions of dollars; of all which expense, much the larger proportion, and especially of the individual and special donations and contributions, has been borne by the people of the slaveholding States, to whose great interests the designs and operations of the Colonization Society have already been greatly injurious, and are tending to produce much more of injury and danger.

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#### DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

##### 1.—THE HARBORS, BAYS, ISLANDS, AND RETREATS, OF THE GULF OF MEXICO.

BY PROFESSOR TROWBRIDGE, U. S. COAST SURVEY.

IN many respects Mississippi Sound is one of the most important bodies of water upon the Gulf Coast of the United States.

Secure from the heavy seas of the Gulf of Mexico, with sufficient depth of water throughout its length, it furnishes a safe transit for steamers carrying the mails between Mobile and New-Orleans. It affords two excellent and secure harbors for the larger class of vessels, and an abundance of places of refuge are found for coasters, and vessels of lesser size. Through one of its entrances is the only approach from the Gulf directly to New-Orleans; and it was in this direction, and thence through Lakes Borgne and Ponchartrain, that the English approached to attack the city in 1815, while their fleets were anchored off Cat Island. It is the outlet to an extensive trade in lumber, which is constantly increasing—the shores of the Sound affording an inexhaustible supply of the finest Southern timber.

Situated upon the borders of the Gulf, the coast is healthy, affording, during the prevalence of epidemics in the neighboring cities, salubrious and pleasant retreats to the inhabitants, while the waters afford a never-ceasing supply of the finest fish and oysters, and the soil yields readily to judicious cultivation, varieties of vegetables of excellent qualities. Fruits, almonds, figs, grapes, oranges, and lemons, growing luxuriantly in the gardens along the shores. The settlements have gradually increased in size and numbers; mills have been erected, husbandry sufficient to meet the demands of the inhabitants is followed, and the shores of Mississippi Sound bid fair ultimately to become thickly settled with a thriving population.

Mississippi Sound is located between longitude eighty-eight degrees and seven minutes and eighty-nine degrees and twenty five minutes, and latitude thirty degrees and fifteen minutes and thirty degrees and twenty-five minutes. The general direction of its greatest axis is east and west, and it is about seventy nautical miles long, and ten and a half miles wide in its widest, and five and a quarter miles in its narrowest part. It extends from Mobile Bay, Alabama, on the east, from which it is separated by a range of shoals and islets of sand and shells, westwardly as far as St. Louis Bay and Cat Island, and then bends in a west-southwest direction to its western extremity at the entrance of Lake Borgne, in Louisiana, from the waters of which it is divided by its Malheureux islands, a few scattered marshes and islets, extending from Louisiana across five miles and a half to Mississippi, with a shore line of one hundred and thirty-five miles—these belong to Louisiana. A small portion of its northern shore is formed by the

State of Alabama, extending from Mobile Bay to Grand Bay, and the rest of the State being that bordering upon the sound. The total extent of shore line of Mississippi Sound in the north, is about ninety-two miles, exclusive of the indentures, bays, and islands which are found near them, about twenty miles of it being in the State of Alabama.

**MISSISSIPPI SOUND.**—It is enclosed on the south from the waters of the Gulf of Mexico by a chain of islands, extending irregularly from Mobile Point westwardly as far as Cat Island, and the remainder is formed of a small part of the marshy coast of Louisiana. These islands are five in number, and generally alike in character and formation, the extent of shore line on the sound side of these islands is about four miles. They are named respectively, Dauphine, Petit Bois, Horn, Ship, and Cat islands. About half way between Horn Island and the main shore is a small island upon which is located a light-house, and which became famous as a rendezvous of one of the expeditions to Cuba, called Round Island. This little island, together with Horn and Ship islands, belong to the State of Mississippi; Dauphin Island and Petit Bois belong to Alabama, and Cat Island to Mississippi. A light-house is erected upon the western spit of Ship Island, and also upon the western spit of Cat Island.

The boundary line dividing the State of Mississippi from Alabama, strikes the sound near the middle of Grand Bay. This is a broad shallow bay, into which vessels can enter drawing six feet. Immediately west of it is Point Aux Chines Bay, into which also six feet can be carried. The shores of these bays, and the coast nearly to East Pascagoula, are flat and marshy, with an occasional hammock of flat land, with a fine growth (the marsh being cut by creeks, bayous, and sloughs, which run through it in every direction). The marsh is backed by the fast land, for the most part barren and uncultivated, and covered principally with a growth of pine. Hundreds of little streams, scarce twenty yards wide, turning and twisting in every conceivable direction, run from the flat country into the sound at Grand and Point Aux Chines bays. At low tide, large flats of unctuous mud are laid bare, filled with oysters of the finest quality. In this region, and in fact along the whole coast, one constantly encounters traces of the races of red men now extinct. Indian mounds, yielding, when opened, a rich harvest to the antiquarian, are frequently found, and broken fragments of rude pottery, the handy work of the aborigines of past ages, are scattered along the whole length of the shore.

The town of East Pascagoula is situated upon a slight rise upon the eastern shore of the mouth of the river of that name, which forms a marshy delta as it enters into the Sound. This is a river of considerable importance. Its head waters, the Leaf and Chickasaw rivers, rise in the central parts of the State, one hundred and twenty miles from the shores of the Gulf, and form at their confluence the Pascagoula river, with a general southern direction to Mississippi Sound; it forms at its mouth a little bay called Pascagoula Bay. This river was discovered by Bienville, in 1699; its name is derived from the Indian tribes of that vicinity.

**PASCAGOULA.**—Pascagoula is a village much renowned as a watering-place for the inhabitants of Mobile and New-Orleans. The soil is good for the cultivation of vegetables, and fruit trees of various kinds furnish oranges, figs, and other fruits in great abundance. On account of its salubrity, this place was selected by a commission of medical officers for the site of a United States hospital for invalid soldiers, at the close of the Mexican war, and extensive buildings were erected and occupied for that purpose immediately east of the village. Saw-mills have been in operation some years up the river, and quite a quantity of lumber is sent from here to Mobile. The delta of the river is about three miles wide, and the subdivisions and branches of the main stream cut the marsh into many irregular islands.

West Pascagoula is pleasantly located upon rising land, on the west bank of the delta, and is a small settlement. It is a delightful situation for summer residences; the shores of the sound extending from West Pascagoula to Biloxi Bay, are densely wooded down to the water. The growth is principally pine, but it is interspersed with magnolia, hammocks of live oak, and a variety of undergrowth.

Skirting the shore there is an occasional settlement, with small spots of cultivated ground, where the settler is enabled to raise the vegetables necessary for

the consumption of his family. For miles back in the interior extends a thick forest, apparently in its wild, uncultivated state, whose secluded retreats afford venison for the tables of summer visitors at the neighboring towns.

**BILOXI.**—Biloxi Bay, about fifteen miles west of Pascagoula, is a considerable sheet of water, into which six feet can be carried. On its eastern shore the banks are abrupt, being from twenty-five to thirty feet in height, of a reddish clayey soil. The shores are quite thickly settled, and improvements are constantly going on, giving it, as they proceed, increased importance. Along the shores of the Back Bay, the upper part of Biloxi Bay, and on the banks of the bayous emptying into it, were, in 1851, in successful operation, many mills, foundries, etc., and from these and other resources, trade between there and New-Orleans is kept up, amounting to about \$390,000 at that time. This is constantly on the increase. Opposite the mouth of Biloxi Bay is Deer Island, a long, wooded island about five miles long; opposite its western extremity is the village of Biloxi, mostly the residence of fishermen and tradesmen, and a considerable summer resort from New-Orleans. A lighthouse is located here. Ocean Springs, on the bay, is also quite a summer resort.

Mississippi City, about eight miles west of Biloxi, situated upon an elevated and beautiful shore upon the open sound, is a small village, greatly resorted to in summer—much more so now than formerly. It is the county site of Harrison county; and Handsboro', one mile back of it, on a large bayou, is a flourishing manufacturing and business village.

**PASS CHRISTIAN.**—Pass Christian is about twenty miles east of Biloxi. The country between is very much of the same character as that between Pascagoula and Biloxi Bay. A light-house is located here. It is situated upon a ridge of fast land about twenty feet above high water mark, sloping gradually toward the sound, on the east entrance to the Bay of St. Louis. Around it and back in the interior is the same wild, thick forest of pine as seen along the whole coast.

The entrance to the bay of St. Louis is about a mile and three quarters wide, and on the western shore of the entrance is located the considerable town of Shieldsboro', containing in 1852 about four hundred inhabitants, greatly augmented by the influx of visitors during the summer months from Mobile and New-Orleans.

The bay then expands into a considerable sheet of water, extending inland about five miles, and then widening also to five miles. Into it empty many streams. The exports from this bay in lumber, wood and charcoal, amounted in 1852 to \$100,000. Within a small circuit of this bay, in 1852, there were in successful operation seven mills, from which a million of feet of lumber are shipped annually. This, with other articles of export, keeps in constant employment thirty or forty vessels of various sizes within an aggregate of one thousand one hundred tons. The timber of this region, as well as along the entire sound, is inexhaustible, and the facilities for getting it to market very great.

Contracts were made with the French government through an agency established at Mobile for that purpose, by which thousands of spars of all dimensions have been shipped from these forests to France, for the ships of the French navy.

No section of our coast presents greater advantages for trade in lumber than Mississippi Sound. The lumber is inexhaustible, readily obtained, and of the best quality. This trade is constantly on the increase. The bayous and streams extending into the very heart of the forest, present facilities for getting it to the mills, and the sound affords a safe channel for towing the rafts to Mobile or the shipping. The trade is constantly increasing, and the settlements are augmenting proportionally.

The remainder of the Northern shore of the Sound from Shieldsboro' to Malheroux on the entrance to Lake Borfine, consists of extensive marshes, cut in all directions by lakes, bayous, lagoons, ponds, and sloughs, turning and twisting in every conceivable direction, in one place an area of nine miles affording a shoreline of eighty-seven miles. This is also the character of that portion of the Southern shore of Mississippi Sound extending from Cat Island to Lake Borgne—a part of Louisiana. The western boundary of the State of Mississippi is formed by Pearl River, which empties into Lake Borgne, and is about seven and a-half miles from the west end of Mississippi Sound. It may be considered as

marking the eastern extent of the delta of the Mississippi. Pearl River is the largest of the rivers which empty into Mississippi Sound. It rises in the central part of the State, and has a length of about two hundred and forty miles, with a general direction from North to South. At its mouth its waters mingle with the waters of the Mississippi, and it here widens into a shallow bay.

The mouth of this river was no doubt discovered by Iberville in 1699, who was the first to make a detailed exploration of the Mississippi Sound.

A railroad from Mobile to New-Orleans has been projected, skirting the Sound, which, when carried out, will greatly facilitate the development of the resources of this portion of the State.

**THE GULF ISLANDS AND HARBORS.**—The islands forming the southern boundary of Mississippi Sound appear to be very much alike in their general characteristics. They are mostly low and sandy, interspersed with patches of marsh and pine woods. They are desolated and made up of sand knolls, as though the winds had blown them together. Their configuration, however, is constantly changed by the action of the sea. A severe gale in August, 1852, swept over the gulf from northeast by east, in some places making breaches through some of the islands, and otherwise changing their shape.

Dauphine Island, previous to this gale, was about nine and a quarter miles long; it is now formed of two islands, about five and three fourths miles long. Upon this island was measured in 1845, by Superintendent C. S., a base line some seven miles long, upon which the work of the Coast Survey in this region was founded. The sea in the gale above spoken of broke through the base, carrying away some of the monuments, but fortunately leaving undisturbed the points.

Petit Bois is about ten miles long, and does not differ materially from the rest, except that the sand hills are more undulating. Between Petit Bois and Horn Island, once existed a small islet called Massacre Island. Now every vestige of it is gone.

Horn Island is about a mile long and less than a mile wide in its widest part. Between Horn and Ship islands, within a few years, was a small island called Dog Island. This, too, has entirely disappeared.

Ship Island, also somewhat undulating, extends in slight curve about seven miles, about E. N. E. and W. S. W. It has a light-house on its western end.

Cat Island is differently shaped from the rest, having two arms near at right angles to each other; the one, extending N. E. and S. W. direction, is four miles long; and the other, extending from the middle of this in a nearly western direction, is five miles long. This island has upon it quite an elevated hill of white sand, and a forest of pines and other growth. On its western extremity is a light-house.

It is somewhat singular that upon these islands fresh water can be obtained at a short distance from the surface by digging close to the shore. Upon this island many of the dead killed in the battle of New-Orleans are said to have been buried. On some of these islands are small lagoons, in which alligators and fish are sometimes found.

The entrance into the Sound on the east, from Mobile Bay, is through Grant's Pass; this is the pass used by mail steamers between Mobile and New-Orleans, and trading vessels in the Sound. A severe gale from the E. N. E. in August, 1852, cut through the eastern spit of the Petit Bois, and formed a channel into the Sound from the Gulf of from twelve to eighteen feet.

There is a passage for vessels between Horn Island and Petit Bois called Horn Island Pass, through which sixteen feet of water can be carried; also a large channel for vessels between Ship and Cat islands.

There is, besides, a channel south of Cat Island through which a considerable portion of the smaller coasting trade to and from New-Orleans must pass. The passages are plainly defined, and the anchorage inside safe for all winds.

There is also sounded out a channel from Ship to Dauphine Island, inside the Sound, for large class merchant vessels, and it is important, as by it access can be had at all times to excellent anchorage east of Round Island for vessels of considerable size. Defences will render this channel a safe rendezvous for any number of vessels.

There are two excellent harbors in Mississippi Sound for vessels of the largest class. Cat Island harbor is situated N. E. of the island, and seventeen feet of water can be carried into it at mean low water. It is safe, secure, and easy of access.

Ship Island harbor, into which nineteen feet of water can be carried at ordinary low water, is situated north of west end of Ship Island. The anchorage with water equal to the depth on the bar, is five miles long, and averages three and a quarter miles wide. The importance of this harbor cannot be overated, and will be highly fit as a place of refuge, as trade in this region increases, as it is rapidly doing.

South of the entrance to these harbors is a harbor under the north point of the Chandelier Island, in the State of Louisiana. In 1846, Lieut. Com. Patterson, of the Navy, and Assistant in the Coast Survey, remarks of Ship Island inlet, and that under the north point of the Chandelier:

"Two such harbors of refuge, to say nothing of their importance in other points, are scarcely equalled upon our coast. They are perfectly safe from the most dangerous storms in the Gulf—those from the eastward and southward—and could be entered with ease during these storms *without a pilot*, if proper light-houses are placed in proper places. For the want of these many vessels are lost."

"To show the security of the Chandelier harbor, this little vessel (of sixty-five tons) rode out, in that anchorage, with perfect ease and comfort, the most severe gale known upon that coast for twenty years. In the same gale the revenue cutter in the harbor of Pensacola cut away her masts to prevent going on shore. Ship Island inlet is still more secure than this."

## 2.—COMMERCE OF CHARLESTON, 1858-'59.

We take the following from the very full Commercial Report of the *Charleston Courier*, and will follow in our next with the statistics of Savannah and Mobile. It is to be regretted that our Southern cities do not follow the example of New-Orleans and Mobile, in the fullness of their annual statistics.

### Comparative Exports of Cotton and Rice from the Port of Charleston.

EXPORTED TO	From September 1st, 1858, to August 31st, 1859.			From September 1st, 1857, to August 31st, 1858.		
	S. Isl.	Up'd.	Rice.	S. Isl.	Up'd.	Rice.
Liverpool.....	15,685	198,577	3,778	15,321	172,022	5,170
Scotland.....	154	3,631	53	69	4,839	199
Other British Ports.....	....	....	....	....	....	....
<b>Total Great Britain.....</b>	<b>15,839</b>	<b>202,208</b>	<b>3,831</b>	<b>15,390</b>	<b>176,861</b>	<b>5,375</b>
Havre.....	7,470	33,439	3,310	7,467	26,143	3,483
Marseilles.....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Other French Ports.....	....	1,375	713	....	1,893	1,694
<b>Total France.....</b>	<b>7,470</b>	<b>34,814</b>	<b>4,023</b>	<b>7,467</b>	<b>28,036</b>	<b>4,577</b>
Holland.....	....	9,214	905	....	7,406	1,170
Belgium.....	....	386	2,078	....	1,382	2,300
North of Europe.....	30	30,960	7,902	....	24,338	6,340
<b>Total North of Europe.....</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>40,560</b>	<b>10,975</b>	<b>....</b>	<b>33,126</b>	<b>9,900</b>
South of Europe.....	....	39,003	86	....	38,524	....
West Indies, &c.....	....	....	17,243	....	....	12,620
<b>Total Foreign Ports.....</b>	<b>23,339</b>	<b>316,585</b>	<b>36,158</b>	<b>22,857</b>	<b>276,547</b>	<b>32,472</b>
Boston.....	521	34,807	7,909	200	9,624	10,178
Rhode Island, &c.....	22	7,621	249	....	10	68
New-York.....	3,137	79,597	62,301	2,666	65,793	62,149
Philadelphia.....	....	19,497	7,768	....	8,983	7,600
Baltimore and Norfolk.....	....	9,225	8,809	....	10,748	5,914
New-Orleans.....	....	....	19,448	....	....	18,190
Other United States Ports.....	....	208	2,503	....	....	2,366
<b>Total Coastwise.....</b>	<b>3,680</b>	<b>150,955</b>	<b>99,067</b>	<b>2,866</b>	<b>115,158</b>	<b>95,874</b>
<b>Grand Total.....</b>	<b>27,019</b>	<b>467,540</b>	<b>135,215</b>	<b>25,663</b>	<b>391,705</b>	<b>128,346</b>

*Comparative Exports of Rough Rice and Lumber from the Port of Charleston.*

EXPORT TO	From Sept'ber 1st, 1858, to August 31st, 1859.		From Sept'ber 1st, 1857, to August 31st, 1858.	
	R. RICE. Bushels.	LUMBER. Feet.	R. RICE. Bushels.	LUMBER. Feet.
Liverpool.....	18,671	105,121	21,175	100,203
London.....	.....	228,485	.....	.....
Other British Ports.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total Great Britain.....	18,671	393,606	21,175	100,203
Havre.....	.....	20,644	.....	175,382
Bordeaux.....	.....	.....	.....	256,114
Other French Ports.....	.....	.....	.....	499,228
Total to France.....	.....	20,644	.....	910,724
North of Europe.....	64,487	750,327	43,455	480,570
South of Europe.....	.....	2,614,731	.....	1,907,315
West Indies, &c.....	.....	1,668,170	.....	2,981,091
Total to Foreign Ports.....	83,158	5,447,478	64,630	6,348,903
Boston.....	7,565	.....	3,625	1,212,471
Rhode Island, &c.....	.....	1,828,140	.....	1,052,938
New-York.....	29,641	785,052	36,781	2,150,885
Philadelphia.....	.....	1,147,386	.....	802,400
Baltimore and Norfolk.....	.....	2,204,060	.....	2,901,379
Other United States Ports.....	.....	777,801	.....	732,152
Total Coastwise.....	37,206	6,833,354	40,406	8,963,225
Grand Total.....	120,364	12,280,832	105,036	15,312,128

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION.

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION.

WE have been favored with a copy of the Special Report of the Superintendent of the Military Institute of Virginia, on scientific education in Europe.

The author, Col. Smith, visited all the leading institutions of learning in Europe, and condenses the most valuable information in regard to them. We recommend this report to the careful study of our educators.

As an appendix to the pamphlet is a letter from Major Gilman, of the same institute, on the importance of agricultural education as a branch of instruction in our Southern colleges. We extract a few passages from it:

Almost everywhere, at the present time, the prevailing sentiment is in favor of agricultural colleges and schools, and such a sentiment is quite prevalent in Virginia and the other Southern States. There are those, however, who, decrying everything which is not "practical," cry out against "book farming," without thinking that perhaps the young farmer might derive something of the same sort of benefit from a *professional* education suited to his wants, as the lawyer, the divine, or the medical man, does from his. There can, I think, be no reasonable doubt that agricultural schools, if properly organized, would accomplish great good; and I shall take but little time in any argument to demonstrate this. Engineering is eminently a practical pursuit. The engineer may, and generally does, commence as an humble assistant, and gradually works up into

the higher walks of the profession; and yet it is universally assumed that the engineer, if he hopes to master his profession in all its details, must, before entering upon it, be thoroughly grounded in all the arts and sciences upon which engineering depends. In other words, his education must be more or less special—professional. Agriculture, while a practical pursuit, is not a whit more so than engineering. Schools for engineers are considered necessities, and are patronized. Why, it may be asked, are agricultural schools less necessary, or less likely to be sustained? If the farmer is to dignify and adorn his occupation, and at the same time keep pace with the age, should not his education have as much of a special bearing as that of the engineer?

The best argument in favor of the utility of agricultural schools, is to be found in the fact that but few years have elapsed since schools of this kind were very rare, almost untried. Now they may be counted by the hundred, and their numbers are still increasing. In Europe, the agricultural school is no longer an experiment. It is, if we are to believe the reports which reach us, accomplishing great good. The most renowned and probably the model school, is that of Hohenheim. The others most noted are at Cirencester in England, Gignon in France, Moglin in Prussia, and Gorey Goretsch in Russia. In 1850, President Hitchcock of Amherst, Mass., enumerated three hundred and fifty agricultural institutions in Europe. Since that time they have greatly multiplied, so that it is estimated that at the present time their number is not far from five hundred; and by far the greater number of them are the creations of the last twenty years.

The agricultural college of Cirencester, England, is probably more nearly suited to our wants than any other. This institution has been in operation but a very few years, and is already doing efficient service, if we may be allowed to judge from the valuable contributions to scientific and practical agriculture which emanate from its faculty, and which are coming to us in almost every number of the *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*.

In our country, while very much has been said upon the subject, very little has yet been done toward the organization of agricultural colleges and schools. A commencement has been made, however; several agricultural colleges have been organized; and we may hope that schools of this kind, suited to our wants, will multiply with the same rapidity that they have in Europe.

While there appears to be but little diversity of opinion in relation to the utility of agricultural schools, there seems to be no little difference of sentiment as to what range of subjects a course of agricultural instruction should embrace, and the manner in which instruction should be imparted. Almost all of the institutions yet organized are located on farms provided for the purpose. Very much of the instruction is of a purely practical nature—the field taking the place of the lecture room, and the students being required to take part, not so much in the management as in the manual labors of the farm. Such a system may be very efficient in the education of young men for managers, stewards, &c., as most of the agricultural schools are designed for, but I cannot think that it would meet with favor in Virginia or the other Southern States, or that it is desirable it should.

The young men of the South who would seek the benefits of an agricultural education, belong for the most part to that class who have means, who would, if not taking a special course, take the ordinary collegiate course of the country, and so soon as their education was completed, enter into the possession of their estates, to direct all farm operations, establish rules for the government of servants, &c., for themselves. Our first efforts, therefore, should be to establish such schools as would be required for the education of the proprietors of the landed estates of the country—men who stand in the same position, socially and politically, as the members of the bar or of the medical profession. This being the case, it is not to be expected that we can find, in any existing school, a model for our guidance; nor, indeed, is such a model necessary. We live under peculiar conditions and must organize schools suited to our peculiar wants.

Our agricultural system is peculiar, and must be so, as it is modified in very many of its details by the institution of domestic slavery. All, or nearly all, farm labor is performed by the slave. The master must direct him, or have

him directed in nearly all that he does. Law and the common dictates of humanity impose important duties upon the master—at the same time that his own interests demand that the labors of the slave, while they are not too severe, should be constant and productive. The farmer in a free State, who requires labor, hires it when he wants it, and of such a character as he may most need. When no longer needed, or when not suited to his wants, his hands are discharged, and he obtains a new supply, or waits until the changing seasons bring around the period for more active labors. The Southern farmer, however, having the slave from the cradle to the grave, must support him in unproductive youth, and in advanced age, and must so direct his labors when he is an efficient laborer, that no time shall be lost. In season and out of season, the master must find profitable employment for him. Added to this, there are moral responsibilities resting upon the master, which cannot be shaken off, or transferred to another—responsibilities which are unknown in free society.

Again: The productions of our climate differ, in many respects, from those of Europe, or even our own Northern States; and, consequently, while the great principles of agriculture are the same everywhere, our system is materially modified on this account, and our instructions should be in accordance with this modified system.

We need, in the first place, a school of the highest order—one in which the young farmer may acquire as complete an education, suited to his wants as a professional man, as the lawyer and physician do in theirs, respectively. If we are to advance in agriculture, we must put it upon the same ground, educationally, that the professions, or I may say, the other professions occupy. Our young men must be taught to feel that there is in agriculture as much to call forth all the energies of the mind, as in any other pursuit whatsoever; and in educating them for it, the course of instruction should be so framed as to give the mind full expansion in that direction.

## DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

### 1.—MOBILE AND OHIO RAILROAD.

In a recent number of the REVIEW we referred to a trip which had been made by us over the full length of the Mobile and Ohio road, and promised at an early day some statistical information in regard to it. This promise we now fulfil, having before us the last annual report of the Board of Directors.

The President, Hon. Milton Brown, thus refers to the progress of the work:

It will be seen that *sixty-eight* miles of track have been laid during the year, and eighty-seven at the north end of the road put in running order. This part of the road has been in operation so short a time that no reliable facts showing its earning power have been developed. The general superintendent, however, it will be seen, is of opinion that, when through connections with Mobile and New-Orleans are made, its income will equal any other portion of the road of the same length.

The Mobile end of the road continues to more than meet the highest estimates of its earning capacity. In December last an exhibit of the condition of the road and its income was published, in which the following statements were made:

"It is a remarkable fact that the actual income of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad has fully equalled the estimate made of its probable earnings when the enterprise was first brought before the public.

"Two hundred and thirty-two (232) miles of the south end of the road are in operation. This portion of the road, including machine shops, rolling stock and equipment of every kind, cost (see 10th annual report) four million eight hundred and ninety-five thousand three hundred and forty-nine dollars (\$4,895,149). The net earnings of this part of the road (estimating December at the income of November), will be three hundred and eighty-thousand dollars

(\$380,000) for the present year. This, it will be seen, is over seven and a half (7½) per cent. on the entire cost of this part of the road, including rolling stock, machine shops, and equipments of every kind. This is before the road has any through connections.<sup>21</sup>

These statements were made from the imperfect data then before us. It now appears by the official and complete returns that the *net income* of this part of the road, after paying all expenses, is equal to *eight and five eighths per cent. on its entire cost*. The receipts on the south end of the road for the year ending December 31, 1858, were seven hundred and fifty-one thousand eight hundred and eighty dollars and ninety-seven cents (\$751,880 97). The increase of receipts in 1858 over 1857 is one hundred and ninety seven thousand four hundred and ninety-eight dollars and seventy-three cents (\$197,498 73). The net income for 1858, after paying all expenses, is four hundred and twenty thousand one hundred and thirty-one dollars and ninety-one cents (\$420,131 91).

This fixes the fact, beyond contingency, that even without the road being extended, we can command our interest account now, and in all time to come, from our *net earnings*, leaving each year a handsome surplus. The *net earnings per mile* in 1857 was \$1,389 42, in 1858, \$1,747, showing an increase of *net earnings per mile* of nearly twenty-six per cent. The number of bales of cotton brought down by the road in 1857 was 88,768, in 1858 the number has run up to 152,528—an increase of 63,820 bales. This is not because the crop has increased. On the contrary, there has been almost a failure of crop in large portions of the black lands of Mississippi. The explanation is found in the fact that the road is drawing cotton from the river. While cotton and other freights have largely increased by the road they have decreased by the Bigbee River.

With these facts in view, it is believed, that when the road is finished to Columbus, Mississippi, and to Okalona, with an ordinary crop in the black lands, the receipts of the south end of the road alone will fall but little short of a million of dollars. If it should be found that we are right in this, the next question will be, *what will the entire road yield when it is finished?*

This question we will not now discuss or make further speculations as to the future.

Attention is invited to statements showing the progress and condition of the land sales. During the year lands have been sold under the energetic and careful supervision of the land committee at better prices, and in larger tracts than formerly. The inquiry for lands is good, and increased sales are expected. These lands deserve to be carefully looked after, and are destined to give to our enterprise powerful assistance.

Gratifying information has been received in regard to the prospects of an early completion of the Paducah branch of our road. The city of Paducah has voted a tax for this purpose of \$150,000, and by a letter from Judge Campbell, the president, we learn the means are provided to make the road as far as the Tennessee line. The part in Tennessee (only thirteen miles) will doubtless soon be made. It will be to the interest of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad Company to give all the assistance in their power to push this important work through.

This company is also greatly interested in bringing the St. Louis and Iron Mountain road to connect with ours at the present terminus—Kentucky City. It is obviously to the interest of that road to make this connection with us, and late information leads to the belief that the directory of that company will so decide.

The report of the chief engineer and general superintendent having discussed the importance of our connections with other roads now in progress, it is not deemed important to refer further to this subject. Attention is, however, specially invited to the importance of the Northeast and Southwest Alabama road as a feeder to our road.

## 2.—CONNECTING ROADS WITH THE MOBILE AND OHIO.

Of the many roads finished, in progress, or contemplated to cross or connect with this road, says the engineer, there is none more important than the Northeast and Southwest Alabama road, which will connect near Sowashee station, 184½ miles from Mobile. That work was originally designed as a link in the

chain between New-Orleans and the Eastern cities, and will prove a powerful competitor for the through travel between these points. At the same point, near the Sowashee station, the Southern road, which terminates at Vicksburg, will also join, thus forming railroad connection with New-Orleans.

The Memphis and Charleston Road crossing is at Corinth, 328 miles from Mobile, where a flourishing town has sprung into existence, which promises to be the most important place in North Mississippi.

At Jackson, Tennessee, 385½ miles from Mobile, the Mississippi Central and Tennessee Road connects. This road runs thence to Grand Junction, on the Memphis and Charleston Road, where it also connects with the Mississippi Central, forming a through line to New-Orleans.

The Memphis and Ohio Road, designed to run from Memphis to Louisville, Kentucky, has recently been completed to Humboldt, the point of crossing, 406 miles from Mobile.

Near Union City, and 443½ miles from Mobile, the Paducah Branch will unite. This important work is in operation to Mayfield, 26 miles from Paducah, and that city has recently subscribed \$150,000 to its extension, which will secure its completion at an early period. In addition to the large amount of business this branch will add to the main line, its completion will soon be followed by the commencement of the contemplated road from Paducah to Vincennes, Indiana, which will reduce the distance between Mobile and New-Orleans to the Eastern cities.

The Nashville and Northwestern Road, from Hickman to Nashville, will cross at Union City, 847 miles from Mobile.

The Mobile and Ohio Railroad is the shortest line that will ever be constructed from the Gulf of Mexico to the Ohio river; and the only one that will be owned and controlled by one company, and, therefore, can afford to work at less rates than any other line between the same places.

At the beginning of the year 1858, there were 254 miles of track laid, and at its close 322 miles, making an addition of 68 miles of track, *which exceeds the length laid in any previous year.*

STATISTICS OF MOBILE AND OHIO RAILROAD.

Year.	Earnings from Public Traffic.	Expenses.	Net Rev.	Earnings charged to construction.†	Av. length of Road in operation.
1852.....	22,454 33	21,265 76	1,188 57		21½
1853.....	30,165 81	23,321 81	6,844 00	11,992 30	23
1854*.....	59,367 45	45,433 15	13,934 20	35,546 30	60
1855.....	109,932 06	90,096 72	109,836 24	53,566 00	118
1856.....	421,328 05	202,102 05	219,226 00	43,664 00	180
1857.....	554,382 34	275,953 56	278,428 78	35,040 60	254
1858.....	751,880 97	351,649 00	420,231 97		322
	2,039,512 54	959,522 11	1,049,690 43	179,748 00	87 from 13th
N. Dividend.....	17,905 82	18,135 72		14,390 00	November.

\* Eleven months.

† Not included in earnings from public traffic.

### 3.—NECESSITY OF A MILITARY ROAD TO THE PACIFIC.

COL. JEFFERSON DAVIS, of Mississippi, thus explains the necessity, as he regards it, of a military road to the Pacific;

The first question, it strikes me, which meets us in the consideration of this question, is the necessity for a railroad across the continent. If there be no necessity for the railroad for government purposes—if it be merely to facilitate migration across the continent, to encourage settlement along the line of the road, without contributing in any degree to the ends for which the government

was instituted, without enabling it to perform the duty which was imposed upon it—without, I say, being necessary to the full execution of its duty—then I hold there is no constitutional power to build it. Therefore, in the front ground with me, the question is, is the road necessary? I hold it to be necessary in time of peace; necessary for that intercourse which alone can hold the different parts of our wide-expanded Republic together. Separated as we are by an intermediate desert, fronting as we do upon different oceans, looking out to the teeming population of Asia on one side, and the active people of Europe upon the other, it must ensue, whenever our Pacific possessions are peopled, that they will have different interests; they will have an opposite commerce; and if they are required to come to a foreign country, to look over an impassable mountain, to learn here by what laws they shall be governed; and if our commerce is to continue as separate, as opposite, as it will be unless these two parts are more nearly linked together, the finger of destiny points inevitably to a separation of the two parts of the United States, fronting on these two great oceans.

In the history of man, and history is said to be philosophy teaching by example, we find no instance where a country has maintained the integrity of its territory, if that territory was riven by a chain of mountains. We find the warlike and semi barbarous hordes of Asia running over the south of Europe; at one time a single military hero covering all the vast plains which lay beneath him; but soon we find those conquering regions separating from the people from whom they emanated; and in but a short time thereafter the States they had conquered again divided into the geographical limits they had before the invasion. And so, at a more modern period, Napoleon carried his conquering armies over the Alps and over the Pyrenees; but those barriers which the hand of nature had placed again demanded the separation of the country into its original parts; and soon after the conquest we find France again reduced to the base line between those mountain ridges, and there to-day she stands as before her imperial conquests.

Then looking north along the Rhine, where the division was merely conventional, where there was no great barrier that of itself separated men, you find that the soil has been drenched, and may be said to have been fertilized, with the blood of contending armies.

Thus inevitably do we reach the conclusion that mountains divide a people, and rivers unite them. But we are not divided merely by a mountain range, along each base of which, and up the slopes of which, a teeming population may hereafter live; but we are divided by a system of mountains; and in addition to this system of mountains we have intermediate desert plains, where, save here and there some irrigable spot, agricultural man can never reside. Then the question presents itself, shall we share the fate which history points to all nations which preceded us? Shall we allow our territory to be divided? Shall the United States commence her downward step by losing the rich possessions she now holds on the Pacific as the inevitable consequence of that separation which mountains and deserts demand? Or shall we use the power which science and art and the progress of civilization have conferred upon man, overcome the physical obstacle, bind these two parts together, and hold this country one and indivisible forever? These are questions which I think it belongs to the statesman to consider. Though it may be easy in cant phrase to speak of the impropriety of using the power of the government to make a railroad, and of leaving it to be done as such roads have been made from here to Baltimore, and from here to Fredericksburg; is there a man of sound judgment and patient inquiry who does not know that he speaks of that which is an impossibility; and that, wait as long as we may, he will see the day when separation will occur long before he sees the population which can build that road from its own resources?

But, Mr. President, a point has been specially directed against myself in the course of this debate; and I may say here that it has been my misfortune, of those with whom I generally act, and those who represent the same population with myself, to stand alone. I believe I stand upon the undying rock of truth. I believe I stand upon the interests of the country. I believe I am propelled by a high duty devolved upon me; and though assailed by my friends on one side,

and by my old political opponents on the other, I trust I shall stand unmoved. What, sir, is the argument so constantly directed against the military necessity of this road? It is that the period is rapidly arriving when the population on the shores of the Pacific can defend itself; that the ocean and isthmus routes afford now the means of transporting by sea what we propose to transport by land. Unless they shall develop an agricultural capacity not yet believed to exist there, unless the people there shall be drawn into a different pursuit, and, instead of being tributary to the wealth of the Atlantic slope and the Mississippi valley by consuming the products of agriculture, shall become an agricultural people themselves, the day can never arrive when they will maintain from their own agricultural resources the population which will be necessary to defend that coast.

Take the most remote period to which the eye of prophecy may think proper to look, and still you find staring you in the face the necessity that you must draw your resources from the valley of the Mississippi. In any contingency of war it is hardly needful to argue that it would be impossible to draw those resources from that valley by sea. I say it is impossible in any condition of the country that I can foresee. I grant that it is in the power of the American people to construct a navy to sweep the ocean down to the cape, and up the ocean beyond the possessions of the United States; but this would cost millions, where thousands would suffice with a more economical mode of transportation. Are we ready to invest the whole treasury of the government in vessels as perishable as those which it is proper for us to construct? Or shall we employ but a small part of that money in achieving for ourselves the whole end which this vast navy would attain?

Again, sir, upon those routes proposed to be traversed by sea and by short land connection, we pass into tropical climates; on most of them we cross the equator twice. Within the limits of the United States, so far as I am at present informed, we have thus far found but one kind of flour which could thus be transported and delivered in good order. It is not so bad with other supplies; but something of the same kind appertaining to all the supplies required for the army and navy on the Pacific coast. It is needless, therefore, to speak of the accumulation of vast stores, which are to serve us in future contingencies; but if that could be done, it would be easy to prove that the cost of accumulating and maintaining these stores would exceed the cost of constructing the means of transportation which is required.

Besides, under any condition which we can anticipate, those routes could not be kept open in time of war. At the commencement of a war, we should be separated; our Pacific coast, with its sparse population, with its inferior agricultural resources, would be thrown upon its capacities for defence, and it be lost to the United States. When Rome commenced losing her territory, decline was set upon her brow and rapidly followed, until she sank into that fall from which the Roman empire never rose. Whenever the United States begin to lose their territory, whenever an invading army can land upon any portion of our coast and capture the territory of the United States and hold it, the prestige, the pride, the power, and the progress of the United States are at an end. Thenceforward the hand of ages and decay will be laid upon us, and we shall sink, the unworthy representatives of the glorious institutions we inherit.

## MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENT.

## 1.—EDGEFIELD COURT-HOUSE, S. C.

To J. D. B. De Bow, Esq. :

Edgefield District was settled principally and, indeed almost altogether, by emigrants from Virginia and North Carolina, while most of the upper districts of South Carolina was first colonized by foreigners. This fact may have something to do with the leading characteristic of the people, which is *reckless bravery*. The popular historian Weems wrote much of Edgefield, and styled it the "*fighting*" district of South Carolina.

The celebrated family of Martin, embracing seven brothers and two sisters, who figured so nobly in the revolutionary warfare of South Carolina, were natives of this district. Many of their descendants still reside here.

The female part of this Martin family evinced the same heroic feeling of attachment, to their country and courage in its defence, as their daring, patriotic brothers and husbands. An evidence of it is as follows :

Understanding that important dispatches were transmitting up the country by the enemy, Mrs. William and Mrs. Bartley Martin determined to waylay the courier, and take possession of the papers ; accordingly they dressed themselves in their husbands' clothes, took their muskets and posted themselves near the road, where the express would pass. Soon after the courier appeared, guarded by two British officers, when the ladies presented their muskets, received the surrender of the guard, and paroled them on the spot. The ladies then sent their captured dispatches to General Green and returned home through the woods, where they found the paroled officers, asking hospitalities for the night, which was granted them. They departed next morning for Charleston, without being aware that these two women had surprised them.

But it would be a very long list, to specify the revolutionary worthies of this "*brave old*" district.

The Hammonds, Towleses, Harveys, Middletons, Butlers, Hatchers, Watsons, Ryans, Galpins, Purvieses, Simkinces, and others, fought like the Greeks of old in the partisan warfare of the Revolution.

Many of their descendants appeared on the battle field of Florida during the Indian wars there ; bore themselves gallantly in the campaigns of Mexico, and proved themselves worthy of their sires.

Colonel Pierce M. Butler, of the Palmetto regiment, was a native of Edgefield.

Captain P. S. Brooks, a native of Edgefield, was also of that regiment, thrashed Abolition Sumner, and acted only as nine men out of ten in Edgefield would have done, had they been in his stead at the federal capital.

Yet "*courage*" is not the only admirable trait of this people. They are hospitable, industrious, and enterprising ; good farmers, occupying tasteful residences, and the southern portion of it is extensively engaging in manufactures.

Horse Creek and its tributaries have two large cotton factories, *Graniteville* and *Vaucluse*, in full operation.

Mr. Wm. Gregg, as you are well aware, is the founder of Graniteville, and the president of that flourishing company, which was the pioneer in successful cotton manufacturing at the South. He is also the sole owner of Vaucluse, having lately purchased it, renovated its old machinery and greatly enlarged its operations. It cannot be doubted, but that, by his herculean energy, practised skill, ripe experience, and hard, common sense, Vaucluse is destined to a long career of a brilliant and uninterrupted prosperity.

Graniteville is indeed a model manufacturing town, in which New-Englanders or Old-Englanders might learn profitable lessons in the art of working up our king staple, especially if they have any regard for the physical, mental, moral, and social welfare of their operatives.

A few miles below Graniteville is *Bath* (situated on the South Carolina Rail-

road), another flourishing village of Edgefield district, far famed as the best paper manufactory in the Southern States. It is owned by a company, whose stockholders reside principally in Charleston.

About six miles from *Bath*, in the direction of Augusta, Georgia, is *Kaolin*, the fourth manufacturing village of this district. It is a new place, founded about three years ago, but is a growing one, and turns out fine crockery as well as porcelain, equal to any imported from China. It is owned by Augustans, Charlestonians, and enterprising Northergers. Dr. H. R. Cook, a resident of the neighborhood, is entitled to the merit of having first discovered the unsurpassed porcelain qualities of the Kaolin-earth. The town takes its name as well from the place in China, where the finest tea ware is made, as well as from the earth itself, which is called by the same name, above mentioned. *Hamburg*, on the Savannah river, is opposite Augusta, Georgia, the best interior cotton market at the South, or is at least so held by all South-Carolinians. One cause of this is perhaps the close competition with Augusta; another, the plucky character of the people "*not to be outdone*," but doubtless the main reason is, the cheapness of freight and the facilities of transportation to the sea-board by means of the Savannah river, South Carolina, and the Augusta and Savannah railroads. The merchants are willing to work for small profits. There are some daring cotton speculators in the town, many of whom have realized large fortunes, while others have lost. Probably there is no town of equal size in America, where more or larger commercial vicissitudes and successes occur.

"*The Bank of Hamburg*" is a fine flourishing institution, like all the other banks of South Carolina, which command the "*entire*" confidence of the Carolina people as well as of those abroad.

The Greenville and Columbia Railroad has diverted much trade which formerly centred in Hamburg, but efforts are now making to *tap* that road by one from Hamburg, so as to restore the former prosperity of Augusta's rival.

This has been an unpropitious season here for both corn and cotton. Most of the farmers will have to buy some corn, and they are not making more than two thirds of an average crop of cotton, which in years past has amounted to about 40,000 bales.

But Edgefield is not alone in a deficient cotton-crop.

I have lately travelled in Tennessee, Northern Mississippi, Northern Alabama, and Georgia, and from all my observations, together with much inquiry, I venture to predict that the cotton-crop of 1859-'60 will be a short one in comparison with expectations.

To return to the specialities of Edgefield, the county seat is beautifully situated on a high and healthy ridge, twenty-three miles from Augusta, Georgia. It has a population of about 1,000 (white and black), has two flourishing academies (one male, one female), twenty lawyers, and five doctors.

There are four churches: one Methodist, one Baptist, one Episcopalian, and one Roman Catholic. The last is a magnificent stone structure, in a Gothic style, not yet quite finished. When completed, it will be undoubtedly the finest ecclesiastical edifice in any village of the State.

The local ministers of the different denominations are all learned gentlemen of high character, pious deportment, and elegant orators. Their ministrations here and in neighboring churches have recently been very successful. How could it be otherwise with the pious example, unceasing devotion, and convincing logic of such holy followers of Christ in a community like Edgefield, which ranks as the 2d District in the State in point of population, and second to none in intelligence and elevated sentiment.

The public buildings here, court-house and jail, are both commodious and substantial brick structures, a model worthy the imitation of our agricultural counties at the South.

Edgefield Court-House is the residence of Hon. F. H. Wardlaw, a chancellor in equity, and a profound jurist.

General M. L. Bonham, the successor of the Hon. P. S. Brooks in Congress, resides about four miles from here.

Hon. F. W. Pickens, the present minister to Russia, has a splendid residence, called "*Edgewood*," in the suburbs of the town.

*Stonclands*, the seat of the late Judge A. P. Butler, United States Senator, is four miles north of this place, and *Redcliff*, the home of Senator Howard, is also in the southwestern part of this district.

The *Press* is ably represented by our mutual friend, Col. Arthur Simkins, the editor of that staunch state-rights democratic journal, "*The Edgefield Advertiser*," which has a large circulation. It is one of the best conducted country papers in this State.

I find the citizens of Edgefield so pleasant to me that I regret to leave them, and hope soon to return to share again their generous hospitalities.

Yours,

G. H. STUECKRATH.

## 2.—IRON AS A MEDICINAL AGENT.

The uses of iron, like that of cotton, are becoming infinite. In medicine, which adopts most of the metals, mercury begins to give way to iron. Hence the frequent pills and potions containing as their base this great mineral agent. Hence Peruvian Syrup, which claims to maintain the protoxyde without further oxydation. Says a medical authority :

To persons unacquainted with physiological chemistry it may appear strange that iron should form an element of the human body, and to many it may seem unimportant whether the quantity contained in the system is large or small. The "blood is the life," for, from this vital fluid, each tissue of the body absorbs such material elements as are necessary for its nutrition and growth.

The blood, which to the naked eye seems a simple red fluid, is in reality a transparent, yellowish and watery fluid, in which float very minute solid bodies, visible under the microscope, and called "*blood globules*."

It is to these globules that the blood owes its red color, and also its power of exciting and preserving the vital forces. If they are reduced in quantity by bleeding and disease, to that extent are the vital forces impaired.

The red coloring matter of the globules contains a large amount of the oxyde of iron, which cannot be diminished below a certain quantity without rendering the blood unfit for the perfect nutrition of the organs. In such cases the fact is made apparent by general paleness, weak circulation, debility, palpitations, difficulty of breathing, dropsical swellings, cold extremities, bleeding from the nose, &c. In this condition of *anæmia*, in which there is a deficiency of the red globules, it is certain that if the necessary iron can be supplied to the blood, the red globules will be restored to it, in the requisite quantity, and the symptoms of disease will, consequently, cease. There is in this instance a very intimate connection between cause and effect, and every one will therefore perceive why iron is an important element of the blood, and why it should be given as a medicine when this fluid is impoverished.

It may be asked, "From what is the blood derived?" We answer, principally, from the food. But if the food is not properly digested, good blood cannot be produced any more than good bread can be made without mixing and cooking good materials in a proper manner. The lacteals and absorbents take up what is presented to them, and pour it into the blood. If the materials supplied are insufficiently or imperfectly prepared, the fault is in the stomach and not in the suffering organs. The bad blood will irritate the heart, will clog up the lungs, will stupify the brain, will obstruct the liver, will deaden the intestinal motions, and will send its disease-producing elements to every part of the system. The feeble girl will suffer from chlorosis and menstrual irregularity, the adult from painful dyspepsia, neuralgia, and head-aches; many will suffer from boils and cutaneous diseases; the bilious from congestion of the liver, dropsy, and constipation; the care-worn and hard student, from the thousand nameless ills known as "general debility," and every one will suffer in whatever organ may be predisposed to disease.

## 3.—AMERICAN AND ENGLISH LOCOMOTIVES.

The Valparaiso correspondent of the *N. Y. Times* says: "Recently a trial has been made in Santiago of two American and two English locomotives, as to their power and speed. This was ordered by the directors of the Southern Railway, at the request of W. W. Evans, the American engineer. A great deal of ill-feeling had prevailed, and jealousy. Evans was censured by some Englishmen for preferring American engines; they said he wanted to favor his own countrymen. The result of the trial of speed was, that the American engine did in twenty-seven minutes what the English was thirty-four minutes in doing; and of the power trial, that the American took a number of passenger and freight cars, and walked right up the gradient and through the entire distance; whereas the English, with the same load, came to a dead halt, had to uncouple fifteen cars and leave them; then went on, came again to a halt, and finally went back to the station. The judge of the occasion was an English practical engineer named Bailes, who presided, and judged very fairly."

## EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

- 1.—*Memoirs of Robert Houdin—Ambassador, Author, and Conjuror.* Written by himself: 1859.

This book comes to us from the gift book establishment of George G. Evans, Philadelphia, and constitutes one of their new publications. It is a translation from the French, and one of the most curious and interesting narratives of the day. It abounds in anecdotes and accounts of interviews between the great wizard with the most distinguished personages, and gives descriptions of the manner of performing many of the most striking tricks, transformations, etc.

- 2.—*Life of Col. David Crockett.* Written by himself, etc.: 1859.

This is another of the gift book publications of G. G. Evans, of Philadelphia, and comprises the early life, hunting adventures, etc., of Col. Crockett, his services with Jackson in the Creek war; his electioneering speeches, and career in Congress; his tour through the Northern States, and eventual services in the Texas war, including his glorious death at the Alamo. Davy Crockett, among other reasons for writing his life, gives the following, in its preface: "I know that obscure as I am my name is making a considerable deal of fuss in the world. I can't tell why it is, nor in what it is to end. Go where I will, everybody seems anxious to get a peep at me, and it would be hard to tell which would have the advantage, if I, and the 'government'

and Black Hawk, and a great eternal big caravan of wild varmints were all to be showed at the same time, in four different parts of the big cities in the nation."

- 3.—*Allibone's Dictionary of Authors.*

We have received the first volume, which extends to J, from the publishers, Childs & Peterson, Philadelphia. It comprises a complete critical Dictionary of English literature, and British and American authors, living and deceased, from the earliest date to the middle of the present century. Thirty thousand distinct biographies and literary notices are included, and forty indexes of subjects. Jared Sparks, in a letter to the publishers, says:

"An undertaking so comprehensive in its design requires vast diligence and research. As far as the author has proceeded he seems to have executed his task with ability, good judgment, and success. When completed, the work cannot fail to be of great utility to all readers who would acquire a knowledge of books, and a most valuable accession to every library."

An address delivered by William Giles Dix, at Beersheba Springs, on the *University of the South*, has been laid upon our table. It is an eloquent but too florid presentation of the claims of that institution, and abounds in very patriotic thoughts. We do not agree with Mr. Dix that Americans ignore their own literature and literary men, but on the contrary think they are far too willing to put up with the trash

that is heaped upon them from native sources rather than resort to the highest standards of other times and countries. American writers of true genius and character receive their just and proper appreciation at home. Of such writers we shall have, in good time, no deficiency, if the public taste does not become too much corrupted.

Mr. CORDEN, in a public speech in En and, is reported to have said in regard to the purity of the American ballot system, that he had received a letter from Mr. Randall, of Philadelphia, in which this passage occurs:

"I have been for fifty years connected with political and party movements in Philadelphia, and I never knew a vote bought or sold."

Mr. Randall must have then been a *know-nothing*, indeed. Oh, virtuous Mr. Randall! Fifty years a party man in Philadelphia and not know a vote to be bought or sold. Arcadian simplicity! Incorruptible times and men and parties. Thus it happens when the Presidency is at stake, and *money, MONEY, MONEY*, is called for from every source, and the patriotic are appealed to, office-holders, little and big, and office expectants, to be lavish in their contributions, the Quaker City and the old Keystone State proudly refuse and contemptuously reject any part in the allotment!!

*O melibiose, Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.  
Namque erit ille mihi semper Deus!*

A WRITER in the N. Y. *Evening Post*, who signs himself "Caucasian," is in great horror of the progress of *amalgamation* or *Africanization* which is taking place in our country, and predicts that if things are continued in the same direction the whole race in its purity will after a while almost entirely disappear. The writer shows a lamentable ignorance of the facts, and the *Evening Post* would subserve the interests of truth by setting him aright. In the first place, it is not true, as alleged by him, that the census of 1850 did not discriminate, "except in a few localities," between the black and colored population, but on the contrary that discrimination extended to the whole Union, as will be seen by the tables of the *Compendium of the Census*, p. 83; and in the second place, it is absolutely untrue

that the 'proportion of mixed to pure black, was at least "one third," the census having ascertained the same to be twelve and a half only in every one hundred of the colored population! This proportion of mulattoes was in South Carolina only 4 in the hundred. In Georgia 6; in Alabama and Mississippi 7; in Massachusetts 34, Michigan 76, while Ohio had 129 out of 200. Although nearly half of the colored in the non-slaveholding States were mulatto, only about one ninth in the slaveholding were of that complexion. It will thus appear that if any alarm is to be felt upon the subject, how little of it must all to the share of the South. How much the Union itself might be concerned upon the subject may be ascertained by reflecting, that if amalgamation should go on in the future as in the past, it would require just two thousand four hundred years to convert our blacks entirely into mulattoes, and that *even then*, if the ratio of the pure whites increased as hitherto, the proportion which the mulattoes would sustain to them would not exceed one in seven or eight! In this estimate we throw out of the calculation any considerable increase from the slave trade, which is not probable, but even if it were, such increase would retard rather than promote amalgamation. We throw out of the account, too, the theories of our "Northern brethren" of the *Evening Post* school, which, asserting negro-equality, freedom, etc., could, if carried out legitimately, stop nothing short of breaking down all distinctions, political or social, between the colors, on the principle that

"We first endure, then pity, then embrace."

At the last session of the Legislature of Louisiana, an act was passed requiring all *free negroes* who have come there in contravention of the law which prohibited the immigration of such persons, to leave the State before the first day of November, 1859. Large numbers of such negroes are to be found in the State, who have been the fruitful cause of much disturbance, and if they refuse to obey the law, they are required to go into slavery, with the option of choosing their own masters. It is said that a good many free negroes have already selected their masters, and though in most instances

they find little difficulty in persuading the chosen ones to add, gratis, negroes to their personal wealth, there are many instances where a refusal has been met. One lucky individual and excellent fellow arose one morning darkeyless, and went to bed that night the holder of the right and title to ten valuable slaves, who had forced themselves upon his acceptance. The negroes, with their quick appreciation of character, understood his, and hence their selection.

A WRITER in the *National Intelligencer* has been publishing a series of able papers, reviewing the organization and action of the Court of Claims, which was established a few years ago at Washington, and the manifest equity and propriety of which were conceded by the whole country.

We conceive that the writer has made out his case in showing that such a court is indispensable to the interests of public justice, and that its decisions should have the weight of legislative enactment.

We extract the following from the sixth paper of the series, and will hereafter notice the others:

"In thus describing the proceedings of Congress, which would seem to indicate the opinion that the judgments of the Court were only entitled to be treated as recommendations, it is proper to add, as matter worthy of particular note, that in no instance have they passed a bill when the Court has rejected the claim, nor rejected the claim when the Court has reported a bill. Whenever they shall attempt the latter, it must give rise to a debate involving the proper construction of the act which will determine finally the conclusiveness of these judgments, at least so far as Congressional action is concerned.

"Viewing the action of the Court as connected with the present practice of Congress, the conclusion to which we are inevitably driven is, that the system is a failure. No evil which led to the creation of the Court is remedied. The burden of Congress is rather increased than diminished. They are still pressed by the same character of solicitation. The claimant is still subjected to the same Congressional delay, increased by the time consumed in the application to the Court. If, therefore, it is finally determined that the judgments of the Court are conclusive of nothing, that they are not even entitled to the same consideration as the report of a committee (which when made takes its place upon the calendar), the Court should be immediately abolished, as an expensive incumbrance to the government, and a positive injustice to the claimant.

"While we express this opinion without hesitation or qualification, it is undoubtedly true that no act of the Thirty-third Congress

was received with more popular approbation than the one we are now considering; and if proper effect be given to it a great reform will be inaugurated in our judicial history, promotive of the interests and purity of the government, while protecting the rights of its citizens."

THE annual statements of the commerce of Mobile and of Savannah have not been received by us up to this date. The statement for *Galveston* shows a continued progress. The total receipts for the year 1858-'9, were 150,016 bales cotton, 8,028 hhds. sugar, and 7,553 hhds. molasses. The total exports of cotton from Texas sums up 193,306 bales, including 2,000 bales to Mexico, by land, and the crops for several years past were as follows:

1848.....	39,774
1849.....	34,827
1850.....	31,405
1851.....	45,900
1852.....	62,433
1853.....	65,790
1854.....	110,325
1855.....	80,730
1856.....	116,078
1857.....	89,899
1858.....	149,248
1859.....	192,062

It is stated in the newspapers that the Secretary of the Interior declines asking any further appropriation in aid of what is called the *agricultural branch of the Patent Office*. We are glad to understand this, and could wish that the secretary would go a step farther, and recommend the entire abolition of the office, as it has been constituted for the past few years. The readers of the *REVIEW* will not fail to remember the numerous *exposes* which from time to time have been made in its pages, of the ridiculous and blundering pretences of this office, and of the systematic injury which it was doing to the *true agricultural interests of the country*. We pointed to the sugar-cane failure, in which a man, who perhaps had never seen the plant in cultivation, was sent in search of seed for the planters of Louisiana. We referred to the analyses of Southern crops, soils, etc., which were intrusted to a chemist, living somewhere in Massachusetts, as if there were no man in the proper region, adequate to the task. We denounced the absurd claims which were being set up for the sorghum, as a substitute for the cane sugar of the South, and protested in

the name of the Constitution and the laws, in which it seems Congress agreed with us, against the daring liberty which was taken in convoking an assembly of delegates appointed by itself, the majority of whom had no connection with the subject, to pronounce upon the agricultural interests of the country! A "Board of Agriculture" forsooth!

There was a time perhaps, when we conceived it possible that an agricultural branch of the Patent office might be made useful to the people of the country, but the experiment has now fully established the contrary, and we abandon the idea. Let us, therefore, retrace our steps and leave the whole subject where it belongs, to the agricultural societies and publications of the country, state and national. They will do their duty in the proper manner. They will see to the distribution of seeds and guano, under intelligent local administration, who will not blunder in the simplest matters, and if Congress and the government must do anything, let it be this: Collect and combine annually the statistics of the crops, and instruct our representatives and naval officers abroad, to procure, whenever practicable, such seed and plants as would seem applicable to the country, and deliver them over to any central agricultural club or society, which might be prepared to receive them. We are sure that a man of the intelligence and patriotism of the present Secretary of the Interior, will concur with us in these views.

We have received from John S. Reese, of Baltimore, a pamphlet, illustrating the advantages possessed by his manipulated over Peruvian and other guanos. A copy of the pamphlet will be furnished to any person who may desire information upon the subject, by application to Mr. Reese.

"The guano contains eight per cent. of ammonia, and from forty-five to fifty per cent. of phosphate of lime. It is obtained by a mechanical combination of the best Peruvian (a damaged article cannot be used) with the richest phosphatic guano, by which the ammonia is reduced to one half, and the phosphate doubled. The guanoe are taken just as they are imported, and combined by a process of manipulation, with machinery adapted

to the purpose, by which means they are as uniformly as intimately and perfectly integrated as if they were taken from the original deposit in the condition it is offered. Every particle of the two guanos is reduced to a finely pulverized state, so that the particles of each are brought into the closest possible union, which close union of particles induces mutual chemical action in the soil, which materially aids the solution of the phosphates; and this chemical action cannot be effected without the contact of minute particles. The advantage resulting from this manipulation of the guanos is not confined to the increase of the phosphates only, but the pulverized condition of the guano is of paramount importance. When thus finely pulverized, a uniform distribution may be made over a field, and every particle of the guano has its effect, and hence there is no loss."

The proprietor asserts and thinks he can convince any one, from the result of the experience of the best planters, that his modification of Peruvian guano is far superior to *Peruvian guano alone*, or any other concentrated manure for cotton, particularly, and in all respects equal for wheat, and superior for tobacco. Costing 18 per cent. less than Peruvian, the great importance of its use in place of Peruvian, must be apparent. In order to give some idea of its value, he states that in 1857, he sold ten tons in Edgecomb County, N. C., for cotton. The next year his sales in the same county were over one hundred tons. This year he has sold in the same county five hundred tons, and the indications are that five hundred more will be taken by it. A cargo is now being shipped to Mobile to order.

ATTENTION is called to the circular of the *National Fertilizing Company*, which has appeared from time to time in our REVIEW, and to the cheapness and intrinsic value of the GUANO which they are engaged in manufacturing. By reference to the REVIEW for November, 1858, the reader will find the circular, eight pages in length, entire. We shall refer to the subject again shortly, and only remark here that very large orders from Virginia are being now received through the agent at Alexandria.

A paper reviewing the recent article, by Judge Douglas, in *Harper's Monthly*, from the pen of a distinguished contributor, is unavoidably excluded from the present number of the REVIEW, but will appear in our next.

# AMERICAN WATCHES MADE BY THE AMERICAN WATCH CO. AT WALTHAM, MASS.

Attention is invited to the following statement and the accompanying letters of recommendation and testimonials of these celebrated Watches.

A gold medal was awarded the Co. by the Massachusetts Mechanical Association, 1856.  
A gold medal was also awarded them by the American Institute at New-York, in 1857.  
The Company also received the first premium—a gold medal—from the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia, in 1858.

These Watches have now been in the market for nearly ten years, during which time they have been tested as to accuracy, durability, and reliability, in every conceivable manner, and have proved themselves to be the most satisfactory time-pieces ever offered to the public.

This result has been brought about by a strict application of mechanical science to the construction of the Watch from its very inception, rendering it, when finished, mathematically correct in all its proportions, and, necessarily, as perfect a time-keeper as it is possible to make.

The Company have tested their Watches, in many instances, by actual daily noting, and the result of this test has been that they have exhibited a rate equal in regularity to the best Marine Chronometer. The following certificates are from gentlemen who have carried their Watches with them in their daily avocations, and are, therefore, reliable indications of what may be expected from the American Watch when in ordinary active use:

*Letter from Paul Morphy, the celebrated Chess Player.*

*New-York, October 5th, 1859.*

MR. R. E. ROBBINS, Treas. Am. Watch Company:

DEAR SIR:—The American Watch, No. 9240, presented me by the New-York Chess-Club, has proved to be a most reliable and accurate time-keeper—almost unnecessarily so for ordinary purposes. It is now nearly five months since it came into my possession, and during that period its variation from standard time has been but a trifle more than half a minute. The following is a record of its performance. It was set June 3d, correctly:

June 15, fast 4 seconds.	Aug. 15, fast 18 seconds.
July 1, " 0 "	Sept. 1, " 23 "
" 10, " 10 "	" 15, " 28 "
Aug. 1, " 16 "	Oct. 1, " 32 "

I give you permission to make such use of this statement as you may think proper. I am, with respect, yours truly,  
PAUL MORPHY.

*Boston, September 27th, 1859.*

MR. R. E. ROBBINS, Treas. Am. Watch Co.:

DEAR SIR:—It gives me great pleasure to comply with your request for a report of the performance of the American Watch I purchased of you Dec. 2d, 1858. It was set on that day, and its variation from true time to the 19th of February, 1859, when I let it run down, was ten seconds fast. From that time to the present, it has run with nearly perfect steadiness, having, during the eight months, varied not more than two seconds, and this with uncommonly rough usage. I can commend your manufacture in the highest terms. Yours truly,

JAMES H. CLAPP, Firm of Clapp, Fuller & Brown, Bankers, Boston.

*The following is from Mr. Porter, the well-known Marine Chronometer and Watchmaker.*

*Boston, Sept. 28th, 1859.*

MR. R. E. ROBBINS, Treas. Am. Watch Co.:

DEAR SIR:—I have sold during the last year a considerable number of Watches of the Waltham manufacture, and am happy to say that all of them, without exception, have fulfilled my guaranty, and have given satisfaction to the purchasers. GEORGE E. PORTER.

*Chicago, Ill., Sept. 27th, 1859.*

R. E. ROBBINS, Treas. Am. Watch Co.:

DEAR SIR:—I have, at the suggestion of a number of persons, made a thorough examination of the plan of construction adopted by your Company in the manufacture of Watches, and have no hesitation in pronouncing it to be simple, scientific, and eminently practical. It would be very remarkable if any single watch made on this plan should fail to be an accurately performing time-keeper. I would about as soon expect to see the sun make a balk, as to see one of your American Watches do so. Very respectfully,

NORMAN WIARD, Mechanical Engineer and Practical Machinist.

*Boston, August 20th, 1859.*

R. E. ROBBINS, Treas. Am. Watch Co.:

DEAR SIR:—The "Waltham," which I purchased some six months since, has given entire satisfaction. Its time has been fully equal to that of a "Frodsham," which I owned more than a year. Truly yours,  
ALBERT METCALF, 65 Franklin-Street.

CAUTION.—As our Watch is now extensively counterfeited by foreign manufacturers, we have to inform the public that no Watch is of our production which is unaccompanied by a certificate of genuineness, bearing the number of the Watch, and signed by our Treasurer, R. E. ROBBINS, or by our predecessors, APPLETON, TRACY & CO.

As these Watches are for sale by Jewellers generally throughout the Union, we do not solicit orders for single Watches. For the American Watch Company,

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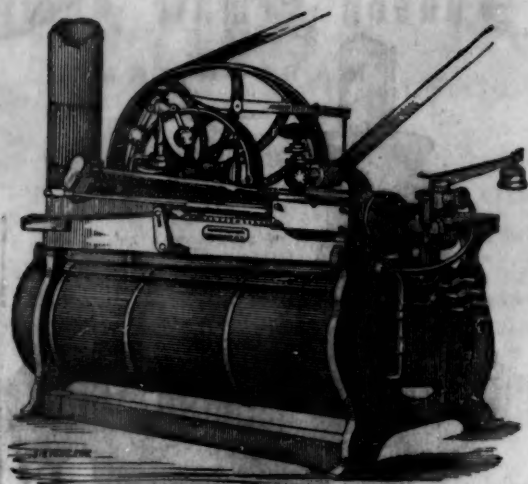
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### **PORTABLE AND STATIONARY STEAM ENGINE AND BOILERS.**

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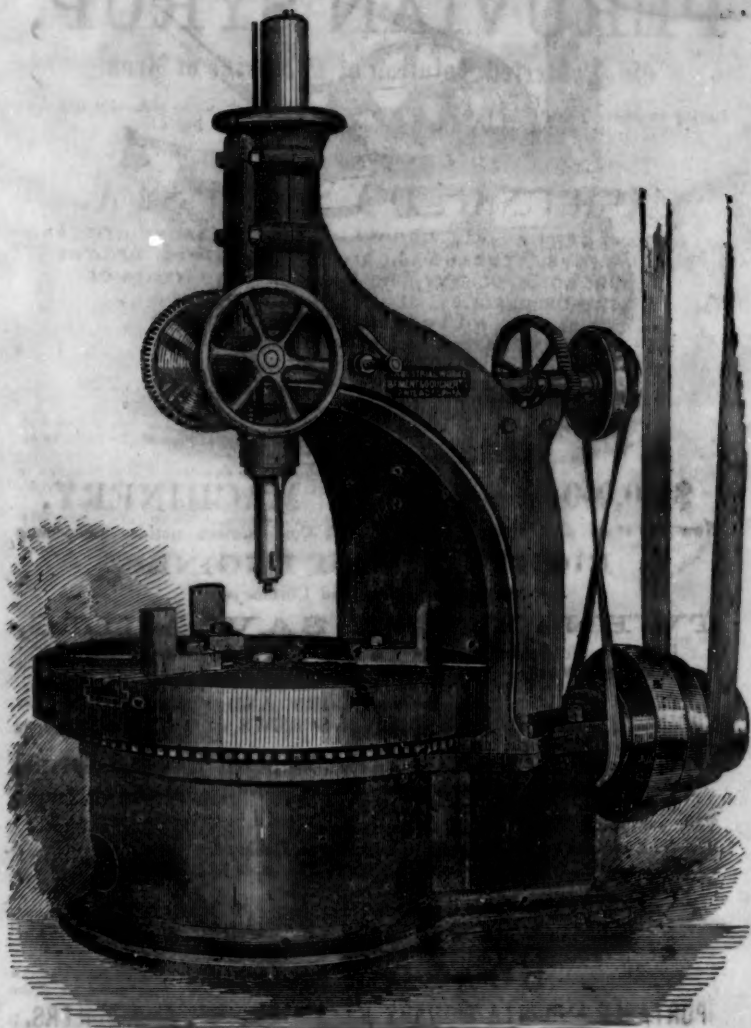
3½ inches diameter of cylinder.	8½ inches diameter of cylinder.
4½ ..	9½ ..
5½ ..	10 ..
7 ..	12 ..
8 ..	14 ..

and from 8 to 24 inches stroke, and rating from 1½ to 25 horse power, with chimneys, blowers, and water pipe complete. This is the only Steam Engine made which has a boiler perfectly accessible in all of its parts, both inside and outside, for cleaning, and a conclusive evidence of its superior merits and popularity, is in the fact that upwards of One Thousand of them are now in use, with a constantly increasing demand. For sale by S. H. GILMAN,

70 Gravier Street New-Orleans.

Also Stationary Engines, with double flue boilers, of various sizes, and Page's Circular Mills constantly in store.

apl—lv.



## MACHINISTS' TOOLS.

**BEMENT & DOUGHERTY,  
INDUSTRIAL WORKS,  
3039 CALLOWHILL STREET, PHILADELPHIA.**

Lathes, Planers, Shaping, Slotting, Boring, Drilling, Wheel and Screw Cutting; Punching and Shearing Machines; Wheel Presses, Cranes, Cupolas, Forges, Ladles, &c.

**SHAFTING.** — *Bement's Patent Improved Adjustable Hangers*; superior to any others in use, having both Vertical and Horizontal Adjustments, and Self-adjusting Ball and Socket Bearings.

☞ Catalogue, with full description, sent at request.

Refer to Messrs. Leeds & Co., Messrs. McCann & Patterson, New-Orleans; Messrs. I. D. Spear & Co., Messrs. Skates & Co., Mobile; Gerard B. Allen, Esq., Messrs. Galy, McCann & Co., and others, St. Louis, and all the Southern and Southwestern Railroad Companies.

# PERUVIAN SYRUP,

Or, Protected Solution of Protoxide of Iron,

Having successfully passed the ordeal to which new discoveries in the Materia Medica are subjected, must now be received as an established medicine.

ITS EFFICACY IN

## CURING DYSPEPSIA,

AFFECTIONS OF THE LIVER, DROPSY, NEURALGIA, BRONCHITIS, AND CONSUMPTIVE TENDENCIES, DISORDERED STATE OF THE BLOOD, BOILS, SCURVY, THE PROSTRATING EFFECTS OF LEAD OR MERCURY, GENERAL DEBILITY, AND ALL DISEASES WHICH REQUIRE A TONIC AND ALTERNATIVE MEDICINE, IS BEYOND QUESTION.



The proofs of its efficacy are so numerous, so well authenticated, and of such peculiar character, that sufferers cannot reasonably hesitate to receive the proffered aid.

The Peruvian Syrup does not profess to be a cure-all, but its range is extensive, because many diseases, apparently unlike, are intimately related, and proceeding from one cause, may be cured by one remedy.

The class of diseases for which the Syrup provides a cure, is precisely that which has so often baffled the highest order of medical skill. The facts are tangible, the witnesses accessible, and the safety and efficacy of the Syrup incontrovertible.

The Peruvian Syrup, by its wonderful effects on the Liver, either wholly removes, or radically cures CHILLS AND FEVER.

Those who may wish for an opinion from disinterested persons respecting the character of the Syrup, cannot fail to be satisfied with the following, among numerous testimonials, in the hands of the Agents. The signatures are those of gentlemen well known in the community, and of the highest respectability.

### CERTIFICATE.

The undersigned having experienced the beneficial effects of the "Peruvian Syrup," do not hesitate to recommend it to the attention of the public.

From our own experience, as well as from the testimony of others, whose intelligence and integrity are altogether unquestionable, we have no doubt of its efficacy in cases of Incipient Diseases of the Lungs and Bronchial Passages, Dyspepsia, Liver Complaint, Dropsy, Neuralgia, &c. Indeed its effects would be incredible, but from the high character of those who have witnessed them, and have volunteered their testimony, as we do ours, to its restorative power.

REV. JOHN PIERPONT,  
THOMAS A. DEXTER,  
S. H. KENDALL, M.D.,  
SAMUEL MAY,

THOMAS C. AMORY,  
PETER HARVEY,  
JAMES C. DUNN,  
Rev. THOS. WHITEMORE.

### CERTIFICATE OF DR. HAYES.

It is well known that the medicinal effect of Protoxide of Iron is lost by even a very brief exposure to air, and that to maintain a solution of Protoxide of Iron, without further oxidation, has been deemed impossible.

In the Peruvian Syrup, this desirable point is attained by COMBINATION IN A WAY BEFORE UNKNOWN; and this solution may replace all the proto-carbonates, citrates, and tartrates of the Materia Medica.

16 Boylston-Street, Boston.

A. A. HAYES, M.D.,  
Assayer to the State of Massachusetts.

**N. L. CLARK & CO., PROPRIETORS,**  
NO. 5 WATER-STREET, BOSTON.

ALSO,  
MEDWELL & LAWRENCE, Washington,  
W. H. BROWN & CO., Baltimore,  
HAVILAND, STEVENSON & CO., Charleston,  
WARD & JONES, Memphis,  
J. WRIGHT & CO., New-Orleans.

RETAILED BY ALL DRUGGISTS.

Feb-17

# Thirty-Eight First Premiums!!

CHICKERING & SONS,

MANUFACTURERS OF

GRAND, SQUARE AND UPRIGHT  
PIANO-FORTES.

ALWAYS IN STORE  
A LARGE STOCK OF OUR  
Beautiful and Marquatted  
PIANOS,  
IN EVERY VARIETY OF STYLE.

Our instruments have  
almost universally taken  
THE FIRST PREMIUMS  
At the various exhibitions  
for the last thirty-  
five years.

Whole number manu-  
factured 21,000.

FIRST-CLASS MEDALS  
RECEIVED, 38.



OUR

Manufactory is in Boston.

BRANCH HOUSES,

894 BROADWAY, N. Y.,  
807 CHESTNUT-ST., PHILA.

"MILLS HOUSE,  
"CHARLESTON, S. C.  
"Feb. 2d., 1858.

"Messrs. J. SIEGLING  
& Son:

GENTLEMEN,—I can  
only repeat that which  
has been said so often  
by others (as well as  
myself), that I consider  
the Chickering & Sons  
Pianos far beyond com-  
parison the best I have  
ever seen in America;  
and, I am also happy to  
add, that they are quite  
fortunate in being so  
ably represented in the  
South by so respectable  
a house as that of J.  
Siegling & Son.

"Yours respectfully,  
"S. THALBERG."  
nov. 1-y.

POLLOK B. LEE,

Attorney and Counsellor at Law,

MEMPHIS, TENN.

REFERS TO

Hon. Thos. J. Withers, Camden, S. C.  
Prof. J. D. B. De Bow, New-Orleans, La.  
May.

Messrs. E. M. Appexson & Co., Memphis, Te.  
" Smith & Porter, Memphis, Tenn.  
Messrs. Farrington & Howel, Memphis, Tenn.

SIMONS, COLEMAN & CO.,  
1009 NORTH FRONT-STREET, PHILADELPHIA,



Manufacturers of every description of WAGONS  
CARTS, DRAYS, OX WHEELS, TIMBER  
WHEELS, WHEELBARROWS, and TRUCKS.

Orders sent by mail, or otherwise, will meet with  
prompt attention, and executed on the most liberal  
terms.

Agents.—Messrs. Phelps, Carr & Co., New-Orleans;  
Barneswell & Fitter, Mobile, Ala.; H. F. Baker &  
Co., Charleston, S. C.; A. Fromme & Co., Indian  
ola, J. Sorley, Galveston, J. J. Cain & Co., Houston, French & Grossbeck, San Antonio,  
Texas. June 1-y.

# BALTIMORE FEMALE COLLEGE.



BALTIMORE FEMALE COLLEGE.

This Seminary of learning instituted for the liberal education of Young Ladies, was created a College proper by the Legislature of Maryland, December session, 1849, with authority to confer degrees, and endowed with all the rights and privileges of the most favored female institutions.

There are two departments in the Institution—the COLLEGIATE DEPARTMENT and the PREPARATORY DEPARTMENT, with their appropriate branches of learning. The course of study in each is three years, designated by as many different classes.

## COURSE OF INSTRUCTION.

The course of instruction is intended to develop the intellectual, social, and moral faculties; and by imparting a thorough, practical, accomplished, and Christian education, fit the pupil for the faithful discharge of the responsible duties that await her in life.

Great pains will be taken to promote the intellectual advancement, by rendering the acquisition of knowledge pleasant, and by training the pupil to correct habits of thought and reflection.

The proper exercise of the social feelings will be encouraged by inculcating whatever belongs to refined manners and dignified courtesy in our intercourse with others; while reading, recitations, and expositions from the Bible, will familiarize the mind with the truths of our holy religion, and imbue the heart with right principles of action, and rules for the government of life.

The situation is agreeable, in a retired and beautiful part of the city, and the buildings have been arranged with great judgment, and have study and recitation rooms separate, with every convenience for boarding and day pupils. Boarders reside with the family of the President, and are under his parental guardianship.

The accommodations for boarders have recently been increased by the erection of an additional story on the main edifice, and a new building, 60 feet long and five stories high, with chemical hall, library, painting and reading rooms, bath-rooms, &c.

The institution takes rank with our oldest and best Seminaries, and enjoys a liberal patronage from the city of Baltimore, and from the Middle, Southern, and Western States. The summer session will open April 15th, but pupils will be received at any time.

## FACULTY OF INSTRUCTION.

N. C. BROOKS, A. M., Prof. of Anc. Languages.  
CHARLES F. HINES, A. M., Prof. of Mathematics and Natural Science.

REV. J. A. MUNROE, A. M., Prof. of Mathematics and Astronomy.

REV. WILLIAM R. MONROE, M. D., Prof. of Chemistry.

MRS. RACHEL HARRIS, Preceptress English and History.

MISS H. A. GENE, Belles-Lettres & Physiology.  
MISS ELLA C. BRADB, Belles-Lettres, &c.

MISS ——— English Branches.

REV. DR. A. GUINEBURGH, Prof. of German.

MADAME ——— Resident French Teacher.

M. EMILE KETT, Prof. of Drawing & Painting.

M. J. SCHAEFFNER, Prof. of Instrumental Music.

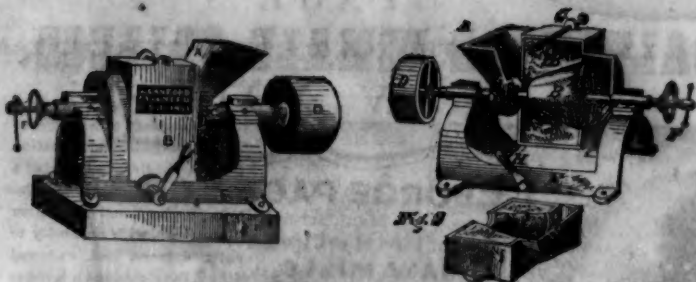
MISS ELLEN C. GORRIENT, Piano and Singing.

MRS. E. A. KEERL, Guitar and Harp.

For Catalogues, containing terms, &c., address,

Sept-3 mos.

N. C. BROOKS, President.



## EXCELSIOR MILL

FOR

## PLANTERS, FARMERS, AND MILLERS,

Agency, No. 45 Gold-Street, near Fulton-Street, N. Y.

The above cuts represent the exterior and interior of the Mill recently patented by Mr. G. Sanford, and now on exhibition, in actual operation and for sale at the above-mentioned sole agency.

It is a Conical French Burr Stone, of greatly improved construction, combining advantages over ALL others of the same material, in compactness, simplicity, the small amount of power required to operate it, in NOT HEATING THE MEAL, and in being adapted to grind on the same Mill, the coarsest feed, and finest flour.

ANY MAN of common sense can take it apart, dress the stones, and put it together again in two hours, when it will grind from 1,000 to 1,500 bushels of grain without further dressing.

Negroes of sufficient intelligence to run and keep it in perfect grinding order are found on every plantation.

The gin power used by planters is perfectly adapted to drive the Excelsior Mill, as also the ordinary endless chain horse power in use by farmers.

From actual experiment, made with Wheeler's endless chain power, we are prepared to say that with ONE HORSE three bushels of fine Indian Meal, per hour, can be ground from the hardest corn, which is equal to the work of a four and a half foot flat stone Mill, under an 8 foot head of water on a horizontal wheel.

These are facts worthy the attention of Farmers, Planters and Millers.

A plantation with 200 negroes will, by the use of this Mill, save the cost of it in three months; and the farmer, who feeds ten head of cattle during the winter, will do so in six months.

With five-horse steam power, the Excelsior Mill will grind from 6 to 18 bushels of corn per hour, according to fineness; it is only 36 inches long, 18 wide, and 18 high, weighs 300 lbs.; it is in use in several States, giving perfect satisfaction, bringing us orders, and such flattering testimonials as lead us to believe that it will supersede all other mills as soon as its real value is known.

### THE PRICES WILL BE AS FOLLOWS:

For a Mill with bolt that will make the best quality of flour, in complete running order - - - - - \$125

The same Mill for meal and feed - - - - - 100

Larger Mills are furnished at proportionate prices.

Our terms are cash on delivery in this city, and the Mills are warranted perfect in every respect.

Purchasers will receive a liberal commission for acting as agents.

Letters requesting information will be promptly answered. All orders and communications must be sent to the Agency as above.

J. A. BENNET,

SOLE AGENT.

New-York, September, 1859.

July-17.

# PAGE'S IMPROVED PATENT CIRCULAR SAW MILLS.



**GEORGE PAGE & CO.,**  
**No. 5 North Schroeder-St., near West Baltimore-St.,**  
**MARYLAND.**

We are extensively engaged in the manufacture of Page's Improved Circular Saw-Mills, and of Stationary and Portable Steam Engines, Grist Mills, Horse Powers, Irons for Tobacco Presses, &c.

*The invention of George Page first brought into successful use the Circular Saw for sawing lumber from the log. No other plan has yet been discovered that can be used with success to the same end.*

Any Circular Saw Mill so built as to allow end play or lateral motion to saw shaft, no matter by what mechanical contrivance that lateral motion may be given, is an infringement on our patent, if the mill be not built by ourselves, or under our patent. We make our mills stronger and of greater working capacity than any built in contravention of our patent. They are built with *graduating feed motion and patent ratchet headblocks, and all the other modern labor-saving contrivances*, and we trust that we will have that preference extended to us that we feel the merit of our invention deserves. We make three classes of Saw-Mills; they will saw from 2,000 to 10,000 feet of plank per day, according to size and power applied, with prices to correspond. Our Horse Powers are of three sizes, and strong and well made. Our Grist Mills are of various sizes, and of such simplicity of construction that they must please.

Our particular aim in building machinery, is to combine simplicity and durability with powerful working capacity.

For descriptive catalogues or other information, address

**GEORGE PAGE & CO.,**  
Baltimore, Md.

Or our Agents,

**MESSRS. SLARK, STAUFFER & CO.,**  
New-Orleans, La.

Jan-179.

# COUGHS AND COLDS.

*Testimony from a highly respectable source.*

General John H. Rice, a Practising Attorney in Cass County, Georgia, and Editor and Proprietor of the "Standard," at Cassville, writes thus, over his own signature:

CASSVILLE, GA. }  
February 26, 1858. }

Messrs. SETH W. FOWLE & Co., Boston, Mass.,

Gentlemen:—At the request of your Travelling Agent, I give you a statement of my experience in the use of Dr. Wistar's Balm of Wild Cherry. I have been using it for two years in my family, for Colds and Coughs, and have found it the most efficacious Remedy that I have ever tried.

For Coughs and Colds in children, I know it to be an excellent medium.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN H. RICE.

*Fresh and Reliable Testimony.*

"WISTAR'S BALM OF WILD CHERRY.—We call the attention of our readers to the advertisement of Wistar's Balm of Wild Cherry, in another column, and assure them they can find no better remedy for Coughs, Colds, Asthma, Bronchial Affections, or any diseases of the Throat or Lungs.

"In August, 1858, an estimable friend of ours returned from a visit in the country, much emaciated, and laboring under a severe cough, which had made such rapid inroads upon her constitution, that we felt something must be done at once, or she would become a victim of consumption. Having known the beneficial results which have occurred from the use of Wistar's Balm, we made purchase of some for her, and were happy to say, that before she had taken the contents of one bottle her cough had entirely left her, and she is now in the enjoyment of excellent health."

**COUGHS, COLDS, COUGHS, COLDS,  
COUGHS, COLDS, COUGHS, COLDS,  
PNEUMONIA,  
PNEUMONIA,**

**BRONCHITIS, HOARSENESS,  
BRONCHITIS, HOARSENESS,**

**ASTHMA,  
ASTHMA,**

**WHOOPIING COUGH, CROUP,  
WHOOPIING COUGH, CROUP,**

**INFLUENZA,  
INFLUENZA,**

**Consumption, Consumption,  
Consumption, Consumption,**

And all diseases of the Throat, Lungs, or Chest, find an unfailing Antidote, a ready relief. In the well-known and highly esteemed remedy,

DR. WISTAR'S BALM OF WILD CHERRY.

DR. WISTAR'S BALM OF WILD CHERRY.

This medicine is too well known all over the South, to make it necessary to enter into any discussion of its surpassing merits. It is known by its works, by the good it has done, is doing, and is capable of doing. It may be safely asserted, that there is no known remedy that has commended itself to the sympathies of the sick and afflicted as has this valuable curative.

**BEWARE OF COUNTERFEITS.**

Several counterfeits, and of course worthless as well as deleterious Balsams, have been palmed off upon the community, and it therefore behooves purchasers to look well and purchase only that prepared by

S. W. FOWLE & Co., Boston, which has their printed name, as well as the written one of I. BUTTS, on the outer wrapper.

**SOLD EVERYWHERE.**

The following highly respectable firms are agents for sale of the Balm:

HAVILAND, STEPHENSON & Co., Charleston, S. C.; J. M. TURNER, Savannah, Ga.; HAVILAND, CHICHESTER & Co., BARNETT & CARTER, PLUMB & LIETHEN, Augusta, Ga.; ADIE & GRAY, PURCELL, LADD & Co., Richmond, Va.; SANTOS WALKER & Co., Norfolk, Va.; CANBY, GILPIN & Co., Baltimore; T. W. DYOTT & Sons, Philadelphia; A. B. & D. SANDS & Co., BARNES & PARK, F. C. WELLS & Co., SCHIEFFELIN BROTHERS & Co., New-York.

And sold by Druggists generally.

*A Case of Consumption and one of Whooping Cough Cured.*

The following from a highly respectable gentleman, speaks for itself:

KEYPORT, N. J., }  
May 20, 1858. }

S. W. FOWLE & Co., Gentlemen:—This certifies that I was for many years afflicted with a disease of the lungs until I became so weak that I was with difficulty that I could walk. My cough during this time was very severe, causing me frequently to raise great quantities of blood, attended with profuse night sweats.

After using various remedies to no purpose, I was advised to try Wistar's Balm of Wild Cherry. I did so, and before using the first bottle I was entirely restored to perfect health and strength.

I would also mention that this Balm cured a little girl of mine of a severe attack of Whooping Cough, when her life was given over by the physician, and all other remedies failed.

Signed,

JOSIAH HOFF.

None genuine unless signed "I. BUTTS" on the outer wrapper.

*Wistar's Balm of Wild Cherry recommended by Physicians.*

AUBURN,

September 6, 1858. }

S. W. FOWLE & Co., Sirs:—I most cheerfully add my testimony in favor of the Balm. We have used it in our family, in Pulmonary Affections, and Coughs and Colds, and esteem it a most valuable remedy, and have recommended it in various complaints of this nature, with invariably happy results.

W. B. LYNCH, M. D.

MANFIELD, TIODA Co. PA. August, 1858.

Gentlemen:—Having used in my practice the last four years, Wistar's Balm of Wild Cherry, with great success, I most cheerfully recommend it to those afflicted with obstinate Coughs, Colds, Asthma, &c.

H. D. MARTIN, M. D.

## New-Orleans Agency for the South-West

OF

# WHEELER & WILSON'S SEWING MACHINES.

### WHEELER & WILSON'S SEWING MACHINES

*Have this Fall taken the First Premium at every State Fair held in the United States wherever they have contended, without one exception, viz:*

State of Missouri, at St. Louis; State of Illinois, at Centralia; State of Mississippi, at Jackson; State of New-York, at Syracuse; State of New-Jersey; State of Maryland, at Baltimore; State of Virginia, at Richmond; State of California; State of Pennsylvania, at Pittsburg; State of Kentucky; State of Wisconsin; State of Michigan; State of Indiana. And also, this Fall, (1858,) at the Fairs in Chicago, St. Louis, Baltimore, Richmond, and San Francisco.

If these facts do not establish a reputation, we know not what can.

At the above-named TWENTY FAIRS, all held this Autumn (1858), at nearly all of them, the boasted SINGER SHUTTLE MACHINE DID NOT TEND, as well as Grover & Baker's, Weed's, Sloat's, Webster's, Bartholf's, and twenty or more others; and ALL, IN EVERY INSTANCE, have been SIGNALLY and FAIRLY BEATEN. No rational man can now deny the fact that the

### WHEELER & WILSON SEWING MACHINE

Is the *NE PLUS ULTRA* of all SEWING MACHINES—the PAUL MORPHY of Creation.

The following is the published report of the PENNSYLVANIA STATE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY, on awarding the Premium at the conclusion of their Fair at Pittsburg, on the 1st of October last:

"The Committee have given a full opportunity to the exhibitors of several Sewing Machines to show and explain their several articles, and, after a close investigation, have concluded, while Singer's Machine for heavy work is equal to any, and also an excellent Machine for general use, Grover & Baker's is more simple in its construction, and equal in its ability to perform for general purposes; but without disparaging the merits of either of the above, the Committee feel constrained to award a diploma to the Wheeler & Wilson Machine as being the best for all family purposes.

"SIGNED,

"R. B. MOREHEAD,  
MOSES P. EATON,  
WM. MURDOCK,  
JOHN A. SMALL,

"Committee."

WHEELER & WILSON'S MACHINES having taken the First Premiums at all the State Fairs held this Fall (1858) throughout the Union, in every instance where they have contended, over all other Sewing Machines, must be received as conclusive evidence of their unqualified superiority.

An ample supply of these First Premium Machines will be received by every steamer from New-York, and for sale at the only Depot of

WHEELER & WILSON'S SEWING MACHINES,  
120 Canal-Street.

S. H. PECK, Agent

August-6mo.

# SOUTHERN PLANTERS

ARE SIMPLY REQUESTED TO CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING NOTICE.

PERUVIAN and other Guanos have been largely used in the States for fertilizing purposes, and while it is conceded that they are excellent for the PROMOTION of Crops, it must not be forgotten that they DO NOT IMPART PERSISTENT fertility to the soil, but are constantly FORCING all NATURAL productiveness there may be FROM the land WITHOUT CONTRIBUTION in return.

There is now offered to the agriculturist a purely National Compost, and one that can be entirely relied upon AS REPRESENTED. The component parts of this Fertilizer are, GREEN SAND MARL, FISH, and pure ANIMAL BONE, three UNRIVALLED and IMPORTANT agents, each in itself extensively used, separately. These are chemically mixed to RETAIN for the soil, for future availability, all the Ammonia not needed or taken by the plants and cereals.

A letter from Dr. Deck, together with his analysis, are found below:

"The selection and proportion of ingredients in the 'NATIONAL FERTILIZER' render it equal to the best Peruvian Guano, at a far less cost, while its effects are much more persistent.

"For crops of corn, and cereals generally, the combination of Phosphates, Alkalies, and Soluble Silicates, will exert great influence in quickening and sustaining the same, while for grasses, clovers, and bulbous plants, the Ammonia and Potash are indispensable to stimulate and place them beyond the reach of insects.

"In numerous analyses I have made of natural and artificial manures, I find none superior to this in theory, and I doubt not that practical application will sustain it.

"ISAIAH DECK, M. D., *Agricultural and Analytical Chemist.*"

*Analytical Laboratory, and Office of Consulting Chemistry and Mining Geology.*

18 EXCHANGE PLACE, NEW-YORK, August 6th, 1858.

have carefully analyzed a sample of the "NATIONAL FERTILIZER," and find it to contain:

Moisture .....	9.00	Soluble Silica combined with Potash and Soda .....	20.35
Nitrogenous Organic Matter .....	20.50	Insoluble Silica .....	18.00
Mixed Phosphates .....	12.25		
Potash and Soda .....	9.00		
Sulphate of Lime .....	7.50		
Carbonate of Lime .....	2.25		
Oxide of Iron and Alumina .....	2.15	Proportion of Available Ammonia .....	5.75
		Soluble in Water .....	21.00

ISAIAH DECK, M. D., *Analytical Chemist.*

The following letter is from Dr. Deck, also:

"Since the above Analysis has been recorded, I have visited the works of the Company, at Highland, N. J., and am bound to express my satisfaction at the systematic process carried on to produce this *invaluable* Fertilizer.

"The general process of manipulation, and incorporating this with the other valuable ingredients—Phosphates and Alkalies—leaves nothing to be desired, and ought to produce a perfect manure.

"Samples taken from the various heaps, in different stages of manufacture, prove its general richness; while those from the bulk, ready for sale, were of the same character as the sample analyzed.

"August 11, 1858."

ISAIAH DECK, M. D.

For further particulars, address

JOS. C. CANNING, General Agent, 37 Fulton-St., N. Y., or

JNO. H. PEYTON, Agent,  
90 Light-Street Wharf, Baltimore.

PHILIP H. HOOF, Agent,  
Alexandria, Va.

BROWNLEY, GREENE & CO.,  
Agents, Petersburg, Va.

GEO. E. CURTIS, Agent,  
Selma, Ala.

LEE & CARTER, Agents,  
Montgomery, Ala.

POMERoy & MARSHALL,  
Agents, Mobile, Ala.

GUNBY & CO., Agents,  
Columbus, Ga.

CARMICHAEL & BEAN,  
Agents, Augusta, Ga.

PATTEN & MILLER, Agents,  
Savannah, Ga.

C. A. GRAESER, Agent,  
Charleston, S. C.

W. H. McRARY & CO., Agents,  
Wilmington, N. C.

BEVERLY ROSE, Agent,  
Fayetteville, N. C.

RO. C. MAYNARD, Agent,  
Franklin, N. C.

The Fertilizer is packed in bags of 200 lbs. Price, delivered in New-York, \$34 per ton of 2,000 lbs.

# RUTGERS FEMALE INSTITUTE,

Nos. 262, 264, and 266 Madison-street, New-York.



The Rutgers Female Institute has been in successful operation for nineteen years. During this period about five thousand young ladies have been under its care, and have received a substantial education, including the valuable ornamental branches. With its commodious edifices, located in one of the most healthful, quiet, and moral neighborhoods in the city, easy of access from all quarters, and surrounded by churches; and, with its very extensive Library and Philosophical Apparatus; its ample range and thoroughness of study; its system of classification, securing the fullest attention of the instructors to the pupils; its large and efficient body of experienced teachers; the vigilant supervision of the Board of Trustees; the freedom from distracting frivolities; the constant aim to impart a solid education of the highest order; the incomparably low charges; and, it may be added, with the character and attainments of its graduates and pupils, and its high standard and widely extended reputation, the Rutgers' Female Institute offers to parents and guardians a most eligible opportunity for the education of young ladies.

The Institute comprises three departments—the Preparatory, Academic and Collegiate. These are subdivided, as the number of pupils and the degrees of their progress may require. There is a special department for each extra study, and each room has its separate teacher.

In every department, where it is practicable, free use is made of illustrations to the eye.

It is the aim, in every stage of the course, to have pupils acquire a knowledge of things, facts and principles, rather than mere words. And the studies are so pursued, and varied with appropriate recreation and exercise, as to provide for the physical, intellectual, and moral edification of the pupil. Special attention is given to the inculcation of those great Scriptural principles which should govern the moral being, and to the decorum which should distinguish the social circle. Semi-monthly reports are sent to the parents, and at the close of the academic year, suitable testimonials are given to those who have pursued a commendable course throughout. A diploma is also given to those who have completed the course of study.

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The Faculty of Instruction consists of the Rev. John M. Krebs, D. D., President, and Lecturer on the Evidence of Christianity; Mr. Henry M. Pierce, Principal, and Professor of Moral Philosophy, assisted by a full corps of able and experienced teachers in all the several Departments.

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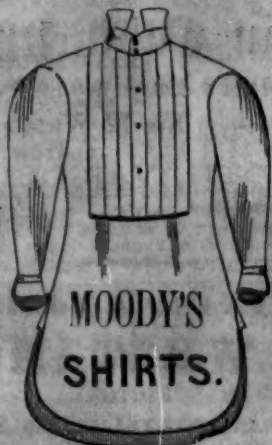
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Jan-17

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Let the Machine be threaded with fine spool cotton—not silk—the upper and under spools alike; then take some dozen pieces of different fabrics, ranging all the way from the finest gauze to the heaviest cloth, and even stout, hard leather; sew each of these, with the Machine running at its highest speed, without stopping, or even changing the tension; repeat this process backward and forward some scores of times. Now, if the sewing on all the different fabrics is perfect, the seam elastic, and alike on both sides, no skipping of stitches, then it is safe to conclude that the Machine is not a poor Machine at least, and the Machine that will do this best, is the best for family use.

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**FOREIGN AND AMERICAN HARDWARE,**

**FINE SHEFFIELD CUTLERY,**

**Guns, Rifles, Pistols, and Sporting Articles,**

**44 WARREN-STREET,**

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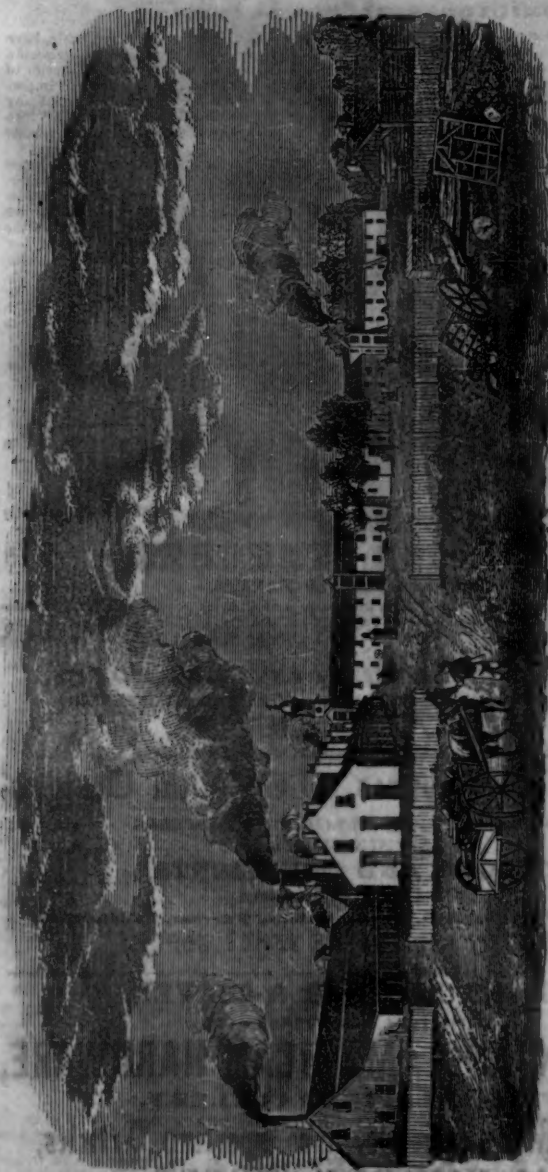
**NEW-YORK.**

{ James I. Day,  
(Special Partner,  
late of New-Orleans

**SOLE AGENTS FOR R. P. BRUFF'S CAST STEEL AXES.**

jan-ly

TO COTTON AND



WOOLEN MANUFACTURERS.

We would respectfully invite your attention to the recent improvements made by us upon the Machinery used for CARDING, SPINNING, and WEAVING COTTON AND WOOL. An experience of more than thirty years in the business, has enabled us to bring the Machinery used for that purpose to a high state of perfection. The great point aimed at by us, has been to construct, in the most simple, workmanlike and durable manner, such Machines as would most effectually answer the purpose for which they were designed, with the greatest possible saving of labor and of power. We are prepared to furnish, for every department of COTTON AND WOOLEN MANUFACTURING, the most complete and efficient Machinery ever offered to the public. We would invite particular attention to our *Spreader, Cotton Cards, Box Looms, and our Improved Roller Gin, for Short Staple Cotton.* All orders addressed to  
**ALFRED JENKS & SON, BRIDGEBURG, PA.** dec-ly

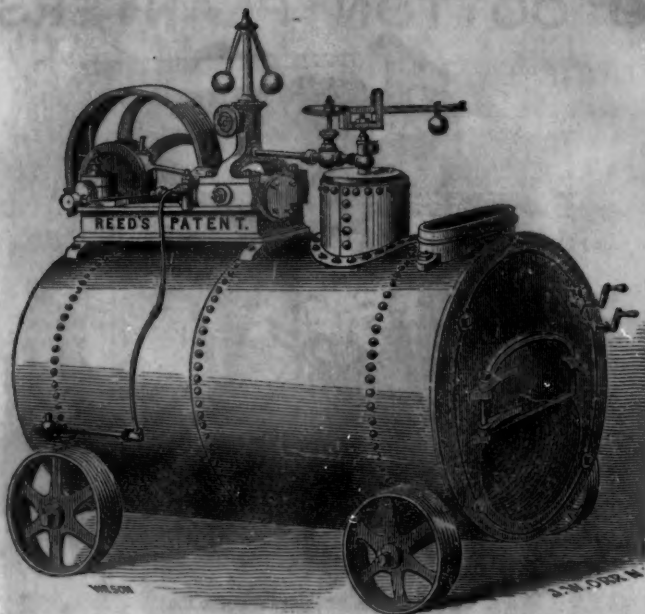
## A detailed black and white illustration of a large, heavy-duty industrial machine, possibly a paper mill or textile loom. The machine features a large, prominent flywheel on the left side, connected to a complex frame of thick wooden or metal beams. The top of the machine has a series of horizontal slats or rollers. The entire structure is mounted on a sturdy base. In the bottom left corner, the word "BOERUM" is written in a stylized, bold font.

**LOUISIANA CYLINDER GIN, FOR SHORT STAPLE COTTON.**

There is a Roller Gin that has been in the Market for several years but the Louisiana Gin is on an entire different principle, and there being no agents for this Gin, apply direct to

MANUFACTURERS OF ALL KINDS OF

exp-17. and I could see you were not a



## REED'S Patent Steam Engines.

These Engines have been used four years, during which time over three hundred of them have been built, thus proving them to be the most simple, durable and economical ever constructed, and for portable or stationary power, superior to all others. They were exhibited at the Palace of Industry, Paris, in 1855, and commanded the attention and admiration of the first Engineers of Europe, who, having tested them, pronounced the result a gain of twenty per cent. over all others, and awarded the first prize to the inventor.

This saving is obtained partly by reducing the working parts to less than half the ordinary number, dispensing with those pieces causing the most friction, viz.: the cross-heads, slides, connecting rod, eccentrics, rock shafts, &c. thereby requiring much less attention, oil, and repairs. The greatest saving, however, is effected by letting the steam in both sides the cylinder at the same time, which doubles the access and egress to and from the cylinder, and avoids all lateral pressure of steam (positive necessities to power and economy in all Steam Engines).

For portable purposes these Engines are placed upon an improved tubular boiler, making a large fire surface, in the strongest and most compact form, very economical in the consumption of fuel, safe and easy to manage by those who are not experienced in operating Steam Engines. The whole is mounted on wheels, with pipes attached, and tested with steam at a high pressure, before leaving the shop, thereby obviating the expense of employing a mechanic to set them up or run them.

Having devoted fifteen years in constructing and adapting steam power to the various purposes for which it is used, such as Sawing, Grinding, Planing, Hoisting, Thrashing, Pumping, Cotton Ginning, Coffee Roasting, Printing, &c., &c., we have not only been convinced of the necessity of a compact, simple, durable, economical, and safe steam power, but also of furnishing, complete, with our Engines, such Mills, Machinery, &c., as may be required for these purposes.

Parties wishing anything in this line may address the inventor without any hesitation, as he will be most willing to answer any inquiries.

Second-hand Engines taken in exchange, bought and sold at fair valuations. The very best Machinery of all kinds furnished at short notice.

For further particulars address

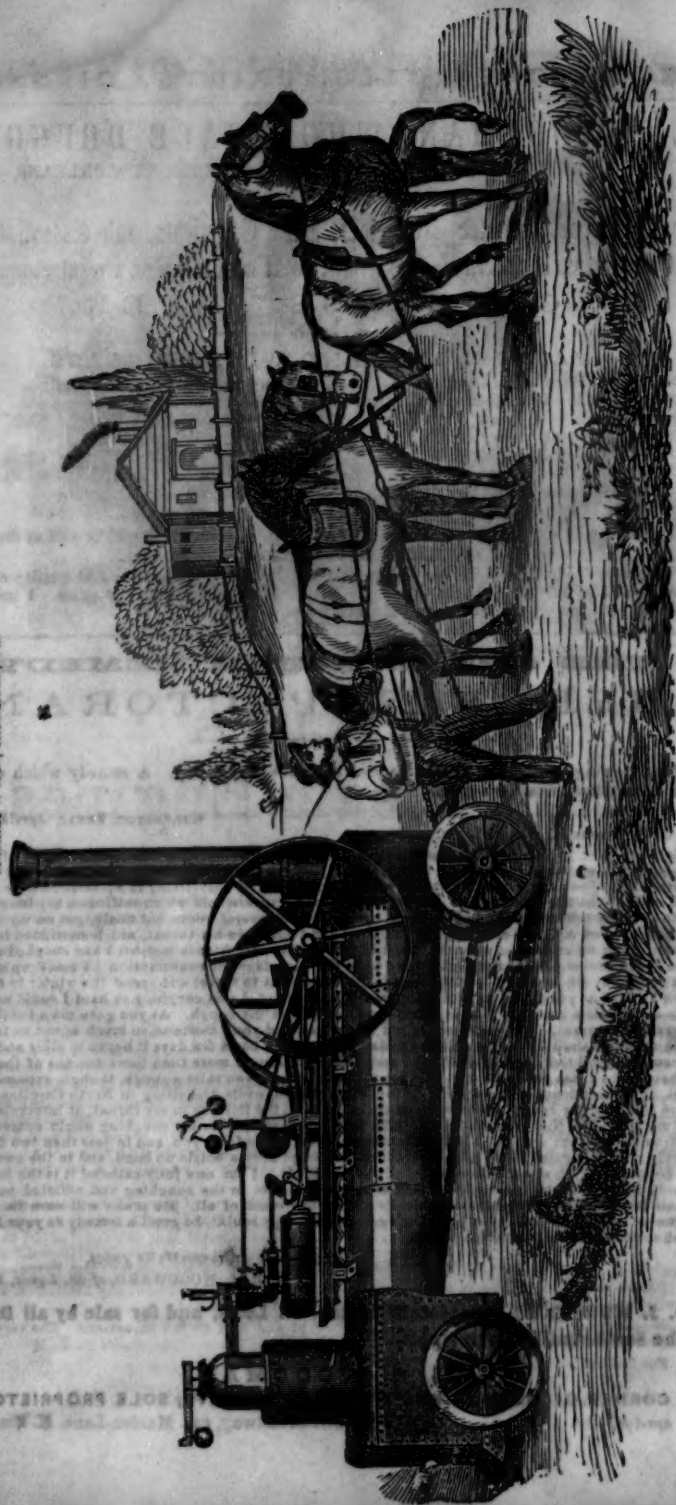
JOHN A. REED,

Feb. 1-yr.

No. 202 Broadway, cor. Maiden-Lane, N. Y.

# **PORTABLE CIRCULAR SAW MILLS.**

PORTABLE AND STATIONARY STEAM ENGINES, for Sawing Lumber, Ginning Cotton, Driving Grist Mills, and other Plantation uses, from P. Egan's Eagle  
Machining Works, Richmond, Va.



CONSTANTLY RECEIVING, AND FOR SALE BY EDMUND M. IVENS, General Agent, No. 2 Union-St., New-Orleans.

ad-ly.

## DRUGS, CHEMICALS, PAINTS, OILS, &C.

### O. O. WOODMAN, WHOLESALE DRUGGIST,

CORNER OF COMMON AND MAGAZINE STREETS, NEW-ORLEANS,

IMPORTER AND DEALER IN

Choice Drugs, Selected Medicines, Pure Chemicals, and Essential Oils.

Arrangements have been made to receive, direct from Saratoga, a regular supply of

CONGRESS WATER.

### PAINTS, OILS, AND WINDOW GLASS.

20,000 pounds Pure White Lead.  
10,000 pounds No. 1 White Zinc Paint, Am.  
5,000 pounds French Snow White Zinc.  
20 casks French Yellow Ochre.  
6 barrels Copal Varnish.  
6 barrels White Damar Varnish.  
3 barrels Japan Varnish.  
2 barrels Coach Varnish.

600 gallons Spirits Turpentine.  
1,500 gallons English Linseed Oil.  
50 casks English Venetian Red.  
60 barrels Lamp Black.  
1,000 boxes French Window Glass, assorted  
sizes, 8 by 10 to 24 by 30.  
100 Kegs Yellow Ochre, in oil.  
100 Kegs Venetian Red, in oil.

Together with all the various colors, dry and in oil. All of which will be sold at the very

#### LOWEST MARKET RATES.

Those who are building Fine Houses are recommended to examine the first quality of French Glass, which is nearly equal to American Crown Glass, and at half the price. I import this article direct from one of the Largest Manufactories in Europe.

## THE GREAT COUGH REMEDY! CHERRY EXPECTORANT.

The following original letter was handed to us for publication. A remedy which can elicit such encomiums, must be a good one:

GALVESTON, TEXAS, April 25, 1856.

Dr. O. O. WOODMAN, New-Orleans:

*My Dear Sir:* In justice to you and a duty I owe to a suffering, and, I may say, a world of coughing people, I state what your invaluable Cough Remedy—your Cherry Expectorant—has done for me, when all other remedies have failed to give any relief. In the fall of 1847, living in St. Louis, where I have resided most of the time for the last sixteen years, I took a severe cold which settled on my lungs, and was confined to my bed, and dozed and blistered by doctors for several weeks, but finally got on my legs again, but not cured of my hard coughing, and rattling and tickling in my throat, which continued incessantly for more than six months, always the worst in the winter. My friends insisted I had coughed enough to kill a dozen common men, and that I must be in the last stages of consumption. I made up my mind I must cough my life away. I left St. Louis in December last to travel and spend the winter in the South. When I called at your store in Vicksburg, you will recollect, I was coughing so hard I could not talk to make my business known. You said that you would cure my cough. As you gave me a bottle of your Cherry Expectorant, I thought I would not slight you and your medicine so much as not to try it; and in thankfulness shall I ever remember the day I did so. In but a few days it began to allay and diminish my cough and all tickling in my throat; and before I had used more than three fourths of the contents of that bottle, I was entirely cured, and for weeks I did not even raise a cough, though exposed day and night, in all weathers, in travelling. However, in March, while travelling in North Carolina, I took a severe cold, and my coughing commenced again, and also the tickling in my throat, at intervals; and before my arrival in New-Orleans, on the 12th inst., on some nights my coughing would commence and continue for an hour or two. I soon procured another bottle from you, and in less than two days I was entirely relieved again. I am now determined to always keep a bottle on hand, and in the commencing of a cough, a very few small doses will relieve it entirely. I am now fully satisfied it is the best Cough Remedy now known to the world; and it is a duty you owe to the coughing and afflicted part of the human family, to put so valuable a remedy within the reach of all. Its praise will soon be upon the tongues of tens of thousands of joyful and coughless happy souls. So great a remedy as your Expectorant should be brought before the public.

I am, dear sir, respectfully yours,

R. J. WOODWARD, of St. Louis, Missouri.

O. J. WOOD & CO., Wholesale Agents, St. Louis, and for sale by all Druggists in the South and Western States.

O. O. WOODMAN,

CORNER OF COMMON AND MAGAZINE STREETS, SOLE PROPRIETOR.

apr-1yr.

## TRUTH OMNIPOTENT!

We give our readers and the public generally the following copy of a letter received by us from J. W. Vesey, Esq., of the *Aberdeen Conservatives*, enclosing at the time a communication to that paper from Colonel Vasser, of North Mississippi, and who was formerly associate editor of the *Conservatives*. The subject of the letter and communication we do not feel it necessary to comment on—they tell the whole story, one that ought to go home to those in whose hands the rising generation of children are placed for nurture and for care. All we ask of our readers is a careful perusal of the documents.

CONSERVATIVE OFFICE,  
Aberdeen, Miss., August 28d, 1898.

Messrs. WRIGHT & CO.—As any testimonial in reference to your preparations may prove beneficial to you, I enclose the following, published at my request, in the "*Conservative*" of the 21st inst.

Col. Vasser was formerly associate editor of the "*Conservative*," and is well known in North Mississippi, as a gentleman of intelligence and strict integrity.

Respectfully,

J. W. VESSEY.

### COMMUNICATED.

[For the *Conservative*.]

ABERDEEN, Aug. 19th, 1898.

DEAR VESSEY:—Upon the principles of justice and humanity, I am induced to ask your permission to insert this communication in your paper, believing, as I do, that it may be the means of preventing untold sorrow in many a happy household.

On Friday last, having been for several days previous absent from my family, I found, on my return home, that my infant, aged about 18 months, was quiet and well, from some unknown cause—supposed to be teething. Up to an examination, however, I was of the opinion that her indisposition proceeded from worms; and having been told by a respectable physician that *Winer's Canadian Vermifuge* was a sovereign remedy against this terrible enemy of children, I was induced to give it a trial, reluctantly, by the acquiescence of my family physician.

On the following morning (Saturday), I commenced administering it by directions, save in quantity, being afraid to give the amount of prescription. I was unable to detect any improvement occasioned by it until late in the afternoon of that day; and should not then, but for the discharge of some thirteen worms, varying in length from two and a half to six inches. This I thought a remarkable number for a nursing infant. But, to my great amazement, about one o'clock the next morning I was aroused from my slumber to witness the incredible number of one hundred and thirty-six from one evacuation.

Before breakfast of the same morning (Sunday), but one small dose was administered, which was followed by the discharge of fifty during the day. The next day (Monday), none was administered; but still occasional discharges occurred during the day, varying in size and quantity as described.

On Tuesday morning following, two more small doses were administered, making in all five doses of a quarter of a teaspoonful, instead of a half as prescribed by the label of directions. In all, the little creature has discharged to this date upward of three hundred worms, a majority of which will average five or six inches in length, and to remain about as usual, with returning evidences of good health and spirits.

Having met with such astonishing effects in the case of my infant, I was induced to use the Vermifuge on six other children under my protection, varying in age from two to ten years old, and in every case gave one (that of the eldest) the like happy results have been produced.

These facts are elicited, first, because of my sympathy heretofore to mothers of every kind; and, second, because my experience has convinced me that in the experiment I have made with *Winer's Canadian Vermifuge*, it is due to suffering humanity, as well as the manufacturer of the medicine, to make public the results of my observation.

W. H. VASSER.

For sale in New-Orleans, wholesale and retail, by

J. WRIGHT & CO.,

31 and 151 Chartres-St.,

May-1st,

Sole Proprietors.

## WINER'S

Canadian Vermifuge

SAVES THE CHILDREN.

## WINER'S

Canadian Vermifuge

OUGHT TO BE IN ALL  
NURSERIES.

## WINER'S

Canadian Vermifuge

IS THE DELIGHT OF  
MOTHERS.

## WINER'S

Canadian Vermifuge

DESTROYS WORMS AT ONCE.

## WINER'S

Canadian Vermifuge

THE DELIGHT OF NURSES.

## WINER'S

Canadian Vermifuge.

THE ONLY THING THAT CAN BE  
RELIED ON TO EXTERMINATE  
WORMS.

## WINER'S

Canadian Vermifuge

FOR EXPELLING WORMS.

Remember it is the only thing  
that can be depended on

# JACOBS' GALLERY.

## DAGUERREOTYPES, Ambrotypes and Photographs, NO. 98 CAMP-STREET, NEW-ORLEANS.

PICTURES DONE IN OIL AND WATER COLORS, OR IN PASTEL, ON THE  
MOST FAVORABLE TERMS, IN THE HIGHEST STYLE OF ART,  
AND WITH THE UTMOST DISPATCH.

### PLANTERS AND OTHERS

from the Interior are invited to call and inspect the capacious Halls of this  
Establishment, and examine the style and finish of the work.

### COPIES

of Daguerreotypes, or other pictures, painted to life size and in every style.

The reputation of this Establishment has been based upon the results of the  
labors of many years.

may—1yr.

## AFFLECK'S SOUTHERN RURAL ALMANAC,

HAS BEEN PUBLISHED, ALMOST CONTINUOUSLY, EACH YEAR SINCE 1845.

It has been prepared with a view to being circulated in the families of the Planters in the  
South-west; and is to be found in almost every house.

The number circulated, each year, has ranged from 20,000 to 50,000. No more are printed  
than are previously ordered, or certain to be circulated.

The aim of the Editor, has been to disseminate useful information; and that, upon subjects  
more peculiarly interesting to the Planter and his family, as also to the Overseer.

The regular and increasing demand goes far to prove that he has been successful.

The number for 1860 will be got up with more than usual care. And having made a contract  
with a well-known New-Orleans house—that of Messrs. D. Felt & Stetson—for the future pub-  
lication of the work, the subscriber believes he may safely promise that, in mechanical execu-  
tion, the future numbers will excel the preceding ones.

The price per page, for advertising, is one dollar for each thousand copies circulated, or 35  
dollars for 35,000 of a circulation; and in proportion, if the edition exceeds this number. The  
certificate of Messrs. D. Felt & Stetson will accompany the receipt for the price of each  
advertisement.

The copy goes into the hands of the Printers, on the first of June. It is, therefore, necessary  
that all advertisements should reach the hands of the Subscriber, not later than 15th May.

Book-sellers, Country Merchants, and others, are supplied with editions of not less than 300  
copies, at \$5 per 100. This includes the cost of a business card upon the title-page, and of an  
advertisement to occupy the whole of the 4th page of the cover of such edition, but referring  
only to the business of the party ordering.

Any number of copies can be supplied, without such card, by Messrs. D. Felt & Stetson, at  
\$6 per 100.

### AFFLECK'S PLANTATION RECORD AND ACCOUNT BOOKS,

have now been in the hands of Planters for some ten years; and have, without any especial  
effort on the part of the publisher, gradually worked their way into such general favor, that  
the edition for Cotton Planters now in press, reaches the number of 3,000 copies.

These will be ready about 1st June next. Orders are solicited from the trade; and which  
may be addressed to Messrs. D. Felt & Stetson, of New-Orleans. If the order is sent in time to  
have the books shipped direct from New-York, a discount of 30 per cent is allowed. If distrib-  
uted from New-Orleans, 25 per cent. A satisfactory acceptance at 6 months from date of  
shipment will suffice; or 5 per cent. off for cash. Address,

THOMAS AFFLECK,

Washington, Adams County, Miss.

**WELLS & PROVOST,**

**WHOLESALE WAREHOUSE**

FOR EVERY VARIETY OF

**PICKLES, PRESERVES,**

*Preserved Provisions, Sauces,*

**FANCY SHELF GOODS, &c.,**

**215 AND 217 FRONT-STREET,**

June-ly

**NEW-YORK.**

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**Volcanic Repeating Fire-Arms,**

MANUFACTURED BY THE

**NEW-HAVEN ARMS COMPANY,**

**NEW-HAVEN, CONN.**

PATENTED 1854.

RIFLES, CARBINES, AND PISTOLS, LOADING WITH FROM 7 TO 30 BALLS,  
CAN BE DISCHARGED WITH GREATER RAPIDITY AND CER-  
TAINTY THAN ANY OTHER PISTOL OR RIFLE.

THIRTY BALLS CAN BE LOADED AND DISCHARGED IN ONE MINUTE.

**JOSEPH MERWIN, Agent**

July-lyr OFFICE AND DEPOT, 267 BROADWAY, NEW-YORK.

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**J. C. HULL & SONS,**

(SUCCESSORS TO W. HULL & SON.)

MANUFACTURERS OF

**Steam Soap and Patent Refined Mould Candles**

ALSO EVERY VARIETY OF FANCY SOAPS.

**Nos. 108, 110 AND 112 CLIFF-STREET,**

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SHAKING WHEN TAKEN FROM THE BOX

# GRANITE, MARBLE, LIME, ETC.

*At the lowest prices, of direct importation from most approved Quarries,  
a large assortment of*

**Granite and Marble, for all purposes of Building,**

Consisting of **FRONTS**, for Stores and Dwellings; **FRONTICES**, for Principal Door  
and Hall Entrances; Buttress-Blocks, Steps and Platforms to Doors, Door Sills and  
Lintels, Window Sills and Lintels, Caps, Cornices and Flag Stones;  
Gate Posts, Fence and Wall Coping, &c.

**TOMBS, MONUMENTS, AND GRAVE STONES,  
TOGETHER WITH ALL KINDS OF MARBLE WORK.**

**NEWTON RICHARDS, 147 Custom House-St., New-Orleans.**

The numerous testimonials of the purity and superior quality of the **CAPE LIME**, for the purposes of Masonry, and  
particularly for Planters' use in Sugar Making, has induced the Proprietor of the "**CAPE GIRARDEAU MARBLE  
QUARRIES**" to extend and adopt such improvements in its production as will insure a more perfect calcination, and  
enable him promptly to supply the increasing demand.

All barrels of this Lime will be stamped "**RICHARDS' CAPE LIME**," and of a size equal to the four barrel, or  
three Winchester struck bushels.

Merchants, Planters, and Masons, by addressing the undersigned through their Agent, or the Post Office in this  
City, with satisfactory references, may have the Lime fresh from the Kilns, delivered at any designated landing on the  
river above, or in the City of New-Orleans. may-lyr

**GEO. PURVES,**

**Perseverance Steam Sash Factory,**

**CORNER ST. CHARLES AND CLIO STS., NEW-ORLEANS.**

**Doors, Sash, Blinds, and Mouldings, made to order.**

**FLOORING, CEILING, AND LUMBER.** may-lyr

## LOUISIANA STEAM CLOTHING MANUFACTORY.

THE UNDERSIGNED ARE PREPARED TO FILL AT THE  
SHORTEST NOTICE, ALL ORDERS FOR

**PLANTATION CLOTHING.**

PLANTERS ARE INVITED TO CALL AND  
EXAMINE THEIR GOODS.

**HEBRARD & CO.,**

**Nos. 165 AND 167 CANAL-ST., BETWEEN BARONNE AND PHILIPPA, NEW-ORLEANS.**

may-lyr

**D. KERNAGHAN & CO.,**

SOLE AGENTS FOR THE CELEBRATED

**BRAZILIAN PEBBLE SPECTACLES**

IMPORTERS OF

**WATCHES AND JEWELRY,**

**Cutlery, Guns, Pistols, and Fancy Goods,**

**21 CAMP-ST., AND 78 COMMON-ST., NEW-ORLEANS.** may-lyr

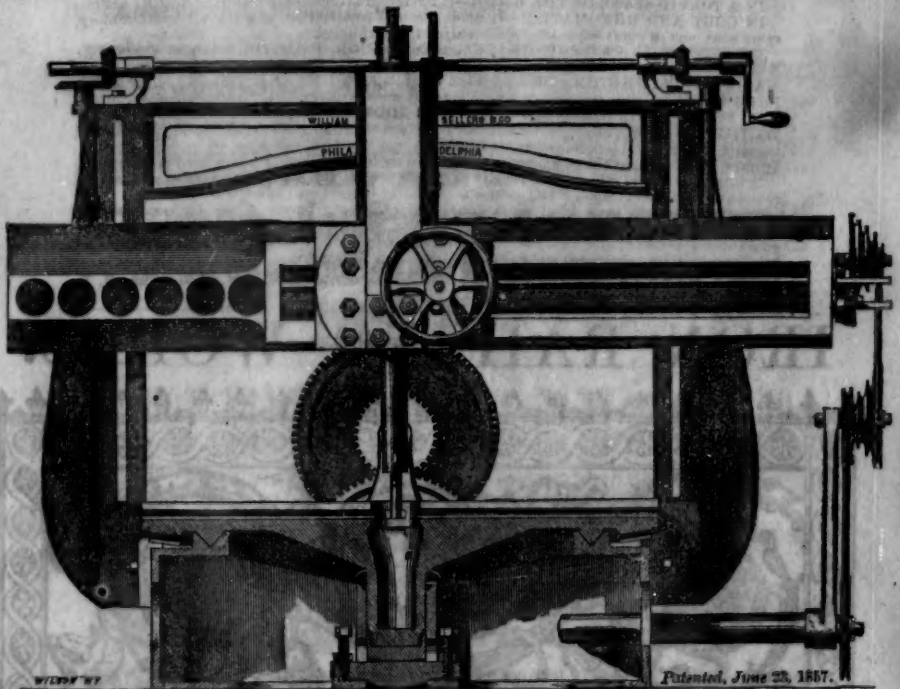
BROWNSON, SLOCUM & HOPKINS,  
IMPORTERS AND JOBBERS OF  
**Guns, Cutlery, Padlocks, Plated Ware, &c.**  
No. 45 CHAMBERS-STREET,  
NEW-YORK.

JAMES S. BROWNSON.

FRANK P. SLOCUM.

EDWARD HOPKINS.

July-1877.



WM. SELLERS.

JOHN SELLERS, JR.

**WILLIAM SELLERS & CO.**  
**Penn'a Avenue & 16th St. Philad'a,**  
**ENGINEERS & MACHINISTS' TOOLS,**  
**IMPROVED SHAFTING,**

With Self-adjusting Bearings and Double Cone Couplings, to admit of easy attachment,  
Also, Railway Turning and Sliding Tables and Pivot Bridges.

The Turn Tables and Pivot Bridges fitted with Parry's Patent Anti-Friction Box.

april-1877

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## EFFERVESCENT

# SELTZER APERIENT.

This valuable and popular Medicine, prepared in conformity with the analysis of the water of the celebrated Seltzer Spring in Germany, in a most convenient and portable form, has universally received the most favorable recommendations of the Medical profession and a Discerning Public, as the

MOST EFFICIENT AND AGREEABLE

## SALINE APERIENT

in use, and as being entitled to special preference over the many Mineral Spring waters, Sedlitz Powders, and other similar articles, both from its compactness and greater efficacy. It may be used with the best effect in all BILIOUS AND FEBRILE DISEASES, SICK HEADACHE, LOSS OF APPETITE, INDIGESTION, AND ALL SIMILAR COMPLAINTS, PECULIARLY INCIDENT TO THE

## SPRING AND SUMMER SEASONS.

It is particularly adapted to the wants of Travellers, by Sea and Land, Residents in Hot Climates, Persons of Sedentary Habits, Invalids and Convalescents; Captains of Vessels and Planters will find it a valuable addition to their Medicine Chests.

With those who have used it, it has high favor, and is deemed indispensable.

IN A TORPID STATE OF THE LIVER—it renders great service in restoring healthy action.

IN GOUT AND RHEUMATISM—it gives the best satisfaction, allaying all inflammatory symptoms, and in many cases effectually curing those afflicted.

ITS SUCCESS IN CASES OF GRAVEL, INDIGESTION, HEARTBURN AND COSTIVENESS—Proves it to be a Medicine of the greatest utility.

ACIDITY OF THE STOMACH, AND THE DISTRESSING SICKNESS SO USUAL DURING PREGNANCY—Yields speedily, and with marked success under its healthful influence.

IT AFFORDS THE GREATEST RELIEF TO THOSE AFFLICTED WITH, OR SUBJECT TO THE PILES—ACTING gently on the bowels, neutralising all irritating secretions, and thereby removing all inflammatory tendencies.

In fact, it is invaluable in all cases where a gentle aperient or purgative is required.

It is in the form of a Powder, carefully put up in bottles, to keep in any climate, and merely requires water poured upon it to produce a delightful effervescent beverage.

Numerous testimonials from professional and other gentlemen of the highest standing throughout the country, and its steadily increasing popularity for a series of years, strongly guarantee its efficacy and valuable character, and commend it to the favorable notice of an intelligent public. Prepared and Sold, Wholesale and Retail, by

JOHN A. TARRANT & CO., Druggists, No. 278 Greenwich-St., cor. of Warren, N. Y.  
July-14.

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FOR

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PARKS, BALCONIES, CEMETERY  
LOTS, STEPS, ETC.,

ALSO,

VERANDAHS, IRON STAIRS, DOORS, SETTEES, CHAIRS, STATUES, FOUNTAINS,  
AND EVERY DESCRIPTION OF

## ORNAMENTAL AND USEFUL IRON WORK,

Having the largest assortment of Patterns and the greatest facilities for manufacturing this kind of work.

Persons can depend on being suited. Orders promptly attended to. Articles boxed carefully, to carry to any part of the Union.

Persons wishing to make selections, by addressing the subscriber, stating what class of work they want, will have Portfolios of Design sent to them.

W. P. HOOD,

Ridge Avenue and Broad-Street, Philadelphia



## THE PATENT HAND AND ARM

Are now made so as to imitate nature very perfectly in appearance and motion.

### THE PATENT LEG

Has been in use 12 years, and the inventor has received (over all competition,) fifty most honorary awards from distinguished scientific societies in the principal cities of the world; among which awards are the great MEDALS of the WORLD'S EXHIBITION in LONDON and New-York. Nearly three thousand limbs in daily use, and an increasing patronage, indicate the satisfaction PALMER'S PATENTS have given.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec., 14, 1858.

MY DEAR SIR:—I am really very much gratified to find that your ingenuity and perseverance have at length accomplished what the profession has so long waited for in vain—a useful Artificial Hand and Arm. The models you showed me the other day appear to accomplish every indication, and are worthy companions to your unequalled "Artificial Legs." After many years' observation of the working of the latter, I am compelled to repeat, what I have already expressed in writing, that neither in Europe nor America is there an instrument of the kind, in my judgment at least, worthy of comparison with them.

Trusting that you will continue your efforts to relieve your afflicted fellow creatures, I remain, very sincerely yours,

THOMAS D. MUTTER,

*Emeritus Prof. of Surg. in the Jefferson Med. Col., Phila.*

B. FRANK PALMER, Esq., &c., &c.

Pamphlets, giving full information, sent gratis to every applicant.

3 mos—June

sep—3 mos

H. FRANK PALMER.

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CELEBRATED

Family Sewing-Machines,



495 Broadway, New-York.

18 Summer Street, Boston.

730 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

137 Baltimore Street, Baltimore.

58 West Fourth Street, Cincinnati.

Agencies in all the principal cities and villages in the United States.

A NEW STYLE—PRICE, \$50.

These Machines sew from two species, and form a seam of unequalled strength, beauty, and elasticity, which will not rip, even if every fourth stitch be cut. They are unquestionably the best in the market for family use.

July-1yr.

SEND FOR A CIRCULAR.

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To all of which the *Tribune* says, Amen.—*Tribune*.  
It is all that it claims to be.—*Independent*.  
It finishes its own work—others do not.—*Home Jour*.  
We give it the preference.—*American Baptist*.  
It needs to be seen to be appreciated.—*Phoen. Jour*.  
Adapted for woollen, linen, or cotton.—*Amer. Month*.  
We like Grover & Baker's best.—*Ladies' Wreath*.  
"Which is the best?" Grover & Baker's.—*Dispatch*.  
Superior to all others.—*Mercury*.  
We have no hesitation in recommending it.—*Express*.  
It requires no re-spooling.—*Evangelist*.  
For family use they are unrivalled.—*Daily News*.  
They sew a seam that will not rip.—*Courier*.  
It performs nobly and expeditiously.—*Examiner*.  
Remarkable for firmness of seam.—*Gazette*.  
Adapted to all kinds of family sewing.—*Observer*.  
Best adapted for family use.—*Day Book*.  
We do not hesitate to recommend it.—*Chronicle*.  
It sews strongly, and does not rip.—*Life Illustrated*.  
The prince of inventions.—*Prot. Churchman*.  
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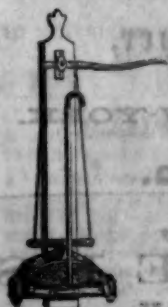
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**R. R. R.—Radway's Regulators** will cure, effectively and speedily, Costiveness, Indigestion, Painter's Cholera, Lead Diseases, Inflammation of the Bowels, Dyspepsia, Liver Complaint, Diseases of the Heart and Kidneys, Female Complaints, Small Pox, Fevers, Measles, etc. etc. Whenever the system is out of order, or the blood impure, a dose of Radway's Regulators will restore it to regularity, and purify and cleanse the blood. No female should be without them.

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IMPORTERS AND JOBBERS OF  
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NEW-YORK.

PAUL LATHROP,  
FREDERICK WILKINSON.

July-lyr.



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1859.  
FROM NEW-YORK.

FROM NEW-YORK.

Steamer	Fulton,	June 25,
62	Arago,	July 27,
62	Fulton,	Aug. 20,
64	Arago,	Sept. 17,
64	Fulton,	Oct. 15,
66	Arago,	Nov. 12,
66	Fulton,	Dec. 10.

Steamer	Date
Arago	Jan'y 7,
Fulton	Feb. 4,
Arago	March 3,
Fulton	March 31,
Arago	April 28,
Fulton	May 26,
Arago	June 23,

1859.  
FROM HAYRE.

FROM HAVRE.  
Steamer Arago, June 28,  
" Fulton, July 26,  
" Arago, Aug. 22,  
" Fulton, Sept. 20,  
" Arago, Oct. 18,  
" Fulton, Nov. 15,  
" Arago, Dec. 12.

	1800.
Steamer	Fulton, Jan. 10,
"	Arago, Feb. 7,
"	Fulton, Mar. 6,
"	Arago, April 3,
"	Fulton, May 1,
"	Arago, May 29,
"	Fulton, June 26,

1859.  
FROM SOUTHAMPTON

Steamer Arago, June 29,  
" Fulton, July 27,  
" Arago, Aug. 24,  
" Fulton, Sep. 21,  
" Arago, Oct. 19,  
" Fulton, Nov. 16,  
" Arago, Dec. 14.

1860.  
Steamer Fulton, Jan. 11,  
" Arago, Feb. 8,  
" Fulton, Mar. 7,  
" Arago, April 4,  
" Fulton, May 2,  
" Arago, May 30,  
" Fulton, June 27.

From New-York to Southampton or Havre, 1st cabin.....	\$130
" " " " 2d " .....	75
From Havre or Southampton to New-York, 1st " .....	700 fra.
" " " " 2d " .....	350 fra.

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map-1yr.

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The honor all is to the proof of those who wear them.

FRIENDS: I took a walk across the Central Park yesterday—the roughest kind of travelling—and was delighted with the elastic life-like feeling of your new Patent Joint, and to experience the self-controlling hold which the foot takes on such rocky and uneven ground. It is truly a great invention, and from my heart I wish you that success which you so highly merit.

T. H.

## SELPHO'S ARTIFICIAL HAND

A new and useful substitute for a lost hand, so arranged that the wearer can open and shut the fingers, &c.  
June-5mor.

Address, WM. SELPHO, 516 Broadway, New-York

**Premature Loss of the Hair,** Which is so common now-a-days, may be entirely prevented by the use of *Burnett's Cocoaïne*. It has been used in thousands of cases where the hair was coming out in handfuls, and has never failed to arrest its decay, and to promote a healthy and vigorous growth. It is, at the same time, unrivalled as a dressing for the hair. A single application will render it soft and glossy for several days. See advertisement.

## **Burnett's Cocoaïne**

Prevents the Hair falling off.

## **Burnett's Cocoaïne**

Promotes its healthy Growth.

## **Burnett's Cocoaïne**

Soothes the Irritated Scalp Skin.

## **Burnett's Cocoaïne**

Gives New Life to the Hair.

## **Burnett's Cocoaïne**

Subdues Refractory Hair.

## **Burnett's Cocoaïne**

Kills Dandruff.

## **Burnett's Cocoaïne**

Is not Greasy or Sticky.

## **Burnett's Cocoaïne**

Is not an Alcoholic Wash.

## **Burnett's Cocoaïne**

Leaves no Disagreeable Odor.

## **Burnett's Cocoaïne**

Affords the richest Lustre.

## **Burnett's Cocoaïne**

Remains Longest in Effect.

## **Burnett's Cocoaïne**

Costs Fifty Cents a Bottle.

PREPARED ONLY BY  
JOSEPH BURNETT & CO.  
No. 37 CENTRAL STREET, BOSTON,

And sold every where.

Feb-1y.

**The Human Hair.**—How many persons abuse this delicate and beautiful ornament by burning it with *alcoholic washes* and plastering it with grease, which has no affinity for the skin and is not absorbed. Burnett's Cocoaïne, a compound of Cocoa-nut Oil, &c., is unrivalled, as a dressing for the hair—is readily absorbed, and is peculiarly adapted to its various conditions, preventing its falling off, and promoting its healthy growth. See advertisement.

# REESE'S "MANIPULATED," OR, "Phospho-Peruvian Guano."

INTRODUCED AND SUCCESSFULLY USED SINCE 1866.  
ANALYSIS.—AMMONIA, 8 PER CENT., PHOSPHATE  
LIME, 45 TO 50 PER CENT.

## SOLD BY THE FOLLOWING AGENTS:

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**JOHN S. REESE & CO.,**

77 South-Street, Baltimore, Md.

## TO FARMERS AND PLANTERS.

The truth of the theory upon which the "Manipulated, or Phospho-Peruvian Guano" was first prepared and introduced by John S. Reese, in 1866, has been amply tested and proved by the use of the article since that period. There is now no question, as to its entire equality in immediate effect, to Peruvian Guano alone; and as to permanent improvement of the soil, it is just fifty per cent. superior; because it communicates to the soil nearly or quite double the quantity of *bone Phosphate of lime* that is furnished in an equal weight of Peruvian Guano alone. Hence this is self-evident. To maintain and increase the fertility of the soil is of the highest importance to the owners of estates and their descendants. Had the former planters and farmers of the old States appreciated this to a greater extent, they would have bequeathed to their descendants rich and fertile plantations, instead of wornout and exhausted estates. We say, this Guano has been used during the past three years, on *Cotton, Corn and Tobacco*, from Delaware to Georgia, and its effects are found equal and superior to Peruvian alone. In confirmation of our statement, we will give the best kind of evidence that can be given in such a case. We will exhibit the orders of some of the largest and most accomplished planters and farmers, for lots of from five to thirty tons, for two and three successive years. We will exhibit the unsolicited manuscript letters of some of the first men in the country, confirming our assertion. We will show that the increased demand for this Guano cannot be accounted for upon any other hypothesis than its real value.

But this Guano, (as originally introduced by J. S. Reese, and now prepared by the present firm of John S. Reese & Co.) is not only equal to Peruvian alone, and superior in permanent effect, but it is far more economical, being from \$9 to \$10 per ton less cost; hence the consumer of ten, twenty or thirty tons, saves from \$100 to \$200, and gets more real value. The secret is, that in buying Peruvian Guano, the consumer pays for a useless quantity of ammonia, (the most costly element,) and gets an inadequate supply of the less expensive, but not less valuable element of Phosphate of Lime.

It is quite probable, from the fact that the value of this Guano depends so much upon the fidelity of its production, that some to whom we are unknown, are deterred from its use by apprehension that it will be made inferior. To all such we beg respectfully to say, that the matter is of sufficient importance to justify an inquiry, and we will cheerfully furnish any inquirer with such reference as will be satisfactory on this point.

A small pamphlet, explaining the theory and principles upon which this Guano is based, will be mailed free to any address.

## NOTICE AND CAUTION.

Although the introduction of our Guano was bitterly opposed by the trade, and various means resorted to in order to break down our enterprise, yet, since its success has become so great, some of our bitterest opponents have become our imitators, and by their praises of what they so lately denounced, show how some men's opinions are controlled by what they conceive to be their interest. It is to be hoped there are but few of this class. These imitators not only appropriate the name we gave our Guano, but with a degree of temerity rarely attained, have the modesty to say, (?) "None other genuine." Not only so, they, with the same freedom, resort to our publication to supply themselves with matter to recommend their imitations.

Now we deem it important for the protection of the public and ourselves, to caution them against these imitations. First, because the name "Manipulated Guano" may be applied to anything. Secondly, because the facility for producing, and the difficulty of discovering an inferior combination are so great, that the desire to make trade, by selling at reduced prices, will certainly lead to that result. Such is the disposition also of many to buy "cheap," that they often unwittingly encourage the very frauds they deprecate and bitterly complain of. A compensating price must be paid for a reliable and good article. Competition, it is said, is the life of trade, and so it is; but in this particular branch, it is easy to see how it may be the death of both the trade and trader. Hence, we caution those who wish to use our Guano, to specify in their orders "Reese's," and obtain it from our agents, and observe that our name is branded on the bags.

**JOHN S. REESE & CO.,**

77 SOUTH-STREET, BALTIMORE, MD.

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